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THE NATION

JULY 22, 1968 35 cents

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POLLS and the RIGHT TO 'NO'

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Symbolic Speech **The Draft Card Burners**

PETER W. MARTIN

Tito Digs the Students CAREY McWILLIAMS

Liberation—Not Frustration

NAT HENTOFF

Nuts, Bolts and Blue Sky WILLIAM B. ROLLINS

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LETTERS

Buffalo music center

The following comments on a music column by Benjamin Boretz [The Nation, *June 17*] *were collected and forwarded by Mrs. Renée Levine of the Center of the Creative and Performing Arts, State University of New York at Buffalo.*
Editor

DEAR SIRS: Our university has put the Center of the Creative and Performing Arts on a permanent basis because of its contribution to new music, its record of capacity audiences, and its consistently high performance standards.
Center of the Creative and Performing Arts
State University of New York at Buffalo

. . . I find it difficult to put much stock in Mr. Boretz's concern over the new music situation in Buffalo. The mere fact that he did not take time to ascertain whether or not the Buffalo Center will or will not in fact continue (which it most certainly will), shows that there is a good chance that he doesn't know what's happening with other groups outside New York City either . . . I am beginning to wonder if perhaps New York City isn't too small a town for new music.
Jan Williams
Center Percussionist

Composers and performers have come to Buffalo over the past four years from Los Angeles, San Francisco, Urbana, Boston, Ithaca, Louisville, Kansas City, Boulder, Washington, D.C., Milan, London, Copenhagen, Berlin, Paris, Rome and Tokyo. Next season (our fifth), new members from Canada, the Netherlands, California and New York will participate in the Center.
Renée Levine
Center Coordinator

. . . The importance of generous and widespread encouragement to gifted young performers and composers inclined toward the contemporary field, the desirability of acquainting a large and unfortunately largely ignorant public, etc., has escaped Mr. Boretz, who appears to have taken sanctuary in a kind of chauvinism unfit for one in his position. Mr. Boretz is obviously carrying a torch, and his column with all its erudition duly noted smacks of sour grapes.
Charles Haupt
Center Violinist

I recommend that Mr. Boretz spend some time here in Buffalo and witness the amount and quality of preparation involved in the Center's programs.
Edward Burnham
Center Percussionist

In my opinion, the Buffalo Center is the only contemporary group sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation that has done what it set out to do. The others thrive on traditional conventionality.
Paul Fromm, President
Fromm Music Foundation

Our Center is guilty of only one thing—a catholic representation of all schools of forward-looking new music. My advice: It is not necessary to attack one group in order to build up another. Our cause needs everyone.
Lukas Foss
Co-director

Mr. Boretz replies

New York City
That my publication of an apparently authentic but, as it now appears, incorrect report of the termination of the Buffalo project has caused such obvious embarrassment to the musicians there is a matter for serious regret. My information, however, seemed quite unimpeachable: one of my sources was in fact a senior faculty member of the
(Continued on page 52)

EDITORIALS

Revolutionary Age

In one of the more perceptive commencement addresses of the year, Franklin D. Murphy, retiring as chancellor of the University of California at Los Angeles, stressed some of the consequences of the fact that we live in an age of change, a truly revolutionary age. The by-products, as he said, are incredibly complicated and the pace is incredibly swift. Five years ago we could speak of the "generation gap"—the inability of parents to communicate effectively with college-age children. Now, Dr. Murphy finds, there is almost as great a gap between the freshman student on the one hand and the senior student on the other.

The change most difficult to grasp and assimilate—and also the most important—is a change in public consciousness. Suddenly millions of people have begun to think and feel differently. While it seems as if it had happened overnight, this is an illusion. An overwhelming disgust with the old politics has been developing within the American electorate for a long time and is now surfacing.

Don Muchmore, one of the most accurate of the pollsters, remarks on one manifestation in this issue (p. 40). He notes that the polls show a remarkable "negativism," a massive withdrawal of support from the Johnson-Humphrey Administration. They also show a remarkable increase in political information, coupled with a growing dissatisfaction with politics as usual. The professional politicians, supposed to be sensitive to widespread changes in public mood, are among the last to grasp the change and what it implies. They have finally been forced to concede —grudgingly—that a man named McCarthy is a serious candidate for the Presidency. At the same time, with perverse stupidity, they keep trying to crack the whip on delegates, as though this were 1940.

It is not 1940. It is not even 1960. A new wind is blowing. One does not need a scientific survey to sense that the old electoral mores are dying; spot observations are evidence enough. Hubert Humphrey flies into the Cleveland airport and his security detail has been advised to prepare for a crowd of 3,000 to 5,000. The actual turnout, by a generous estimate, is 500—and that, as Warren Weaver, Jr. writes in *The New York Times,* includes a band, cheerleaders and hostile pickets. The following afternoon, Mayor Carl B. Stokes and the local Democratic organization promised Humphrey 2,000 to 3,000 people for a coffee-and-cookies reception in a hotel ballroom. Once again 500 of the faithful showed up, and an embarrassing number of them drifted out while Mr. Humphrey was speaking. (Presumably they had partaken of the coffee and cookies and had nothing else to stay for.)

Richard Nixon is just as bad—some would say worse. But on a realistic basis what is there to choose between these two? Both have functioned in the Vice Presidency, hardly an office requiring a giant to fill it. Both have been around far too long; both are has-beens. Does anyone seriously believe either could lead the nation in a revolutionary age? All they can do is plunge the country into an electoral college stalemate of the most dangerous kind.

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A revolutionary age does not necessarily require a revolution, but it does require revolutionary politics. The latter is not uncommon in American history; it is, in fact, a recurring phenomenon. Harvey Wheeler lists four American political revolutions—Jefferson's, Jackson's, Lincoln's, and Franklin D. Roosevelt's. In the *Yale Review* John Rodgers discerns seven, adding the revolt of the American colonies, the William Jennings Bryan campaign of 1896, and the one now gestating.

As Rodgers sees it, one of the major causes of the current revolution is that "we have forgotten to provide young men and women with the opportunity to feel that they too can accomplish something of major value in the society, instead of just preparing themselves to become minor cogs in a great machine, in which, if they are very good and very diligent, they may ultimately be allowed to turn a somewhat larger wheel, but the direction of which neither they nor anyone else . . . can hope to change." Only the very timid and the very repressed among our young people (and the very regressive) can be expected to submit to such a prospect.

Can Humphrey or Nixon, or anyone of their lackluster type, hope to ride out the coming tempest? Does anybody think they can? If they think so themselves, they must be as blind as the hack politicians who support them, hoping in turn to be supported. But the coattails of two such nonentities will not support minor candidates hungry for office, nor will the anti-Communist posturing of both, which has been their stock in trade, enchant the voters this November.

The new mood on the part of millions of heretofore apathetic voters requires, as Walter Lippmann notes, a broader choice in time of crisis. The choice which the machine politicians think to offer them is too dismal to be tolerated. And if that is all these blind party hacks can offer, a sizable number of voters will turn to a third party or a fourth—coupled with an upsurge of movements, action politics and demonstrations—which if it cannot prevail in 1968 will pave the way for rational, radical change in 1972 (provided the fat has not gone into the fire by then).

What Black Power?

From an NAACP convention which exhibited signs of stress, strain and disunity, Roy Wilkins went to address the CORE convention to plead for unity. At the latter convention Whitney Young made a remarkable speech in which he expressed misgivings, bordering on despair, about the response of white Americans. The CORE delegates loved it and shouted, "The brother has come home!" The next day a number of CORE chapters walked out in disagreement with the policies of the national office. All this follows in the wake of the sad, sad breakup of Resurrection City, and stories of the deepening divisions in the nonviolent movement.

These events call for a retrospective view of Black Power. *The Nation* has never had any quarrel with the basic concept: all minorities have had to augment their power in some such fashion. But there are aspects of the

IN THIS ISSUE

July 22, 1968

EDITORIALS

34

ARTICLES

40 Polls and the Right to "No" — *Don M. Muchmore*

42 Symbolic Speech: The Draft Card Burners — *Peter W. Martin*

46 Military "Software" — *Charles Rabb*

48 Tito Digs the Students — *Carey McWilliams*

51 Harry Golden

BOOKS & THE ARTS

53 Liberation—Not Frustration — *Nat Hentoff*

53 Landlord (poem) — *John Engels*

54 The Evidence of Their Lives — *D'Arcy McNickle*

55 A Tragedy of Errors — *Richard J. Walton*

55 Indian Painting, Probably Wasco, in a Cave Near Madras, Oregon (poem) — *Jarold Ramsey*

56 Magic, Vision and Dream — *Jerome Rothenberg*

57 Home Town (poem) — *George Hitchcock*

58 The Flatulent Poet — *Robert K. Morris*

58 Book Marks — *Sara Blackburn*

59 Nuts, Bolts and Blue Sky — *William B. Rollins*

60 Films — *Robert Hatch*

61 Theatre — *Robert Pasolli*

63 Crossword Puzzle — *Frank W. Lewis*

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Editor CAREY McWILLIAMS

Associate Editor PHIL KERBY

Executive Editor ROBERT HATCH

Literary Editor HELEN YGLESIAS

Copy Editor, MARION HESS; **Poetry Editor,** JOHN LOGAN; **Theatre,** HAROLD CLURMAN; **Art,** MAX KOZLOFF; **Music,** BENJAMIN BORETZ; **Science,** CARL DREHER; **Advertising Manager,** MARY SIMON.

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post-1966 development of the Black Power idea that, in our judgment, throw light on the divisiveness so clearly apparent. The noisier the talk about Black Power, the less unity there has been and the less effectively have blacks been able to marshal such power as they possessed. The points we would make in relation to this overall situation are these:

(*1*) Whenever a minority of a minority begins to use inflammatory revolutionary rhetoric, it is a sign either that *agents provocateurs* have moved in or, worse, that sincere fanatics within the movement are functioning as spies, stool pigeons and infiltrators. Currently there is every reason to believe that this has happened with many Black Nationalist groups. Revolutions are not made by talk alone. In the classical sense revolutions are very complex phenomena, involving theory, preparation, a weighing of values, considerations of strategy and tactics and (in this respect Marxist doctrine is sound) a situation in which the ruling class is no longer able to rule. The flamboyant speechmaking of some Black Nationalists has not only alienated elements that might conceivably have augmented Black Power; it has contributed to the disunity that exists among black Americans. A Negro leader who does not indulge in this kind of oratory is likely to find his leadership challenged by one who does. The effect is to create a competition in demagogy.

(*2*) Gunnar Myrdal was not the first to point out that the American dilemma is created by the circumstance that the Negroes are a minority. The colonial or liberation analogy does not apply—certainly not tactically—because the blacks are not about to oust their white colonial oppressors. While black revolutionary activists can cause considerable disorder, they cannot subdue the white majority. Moreover, there is a large—and growing—Negro middle class, not bewitched by Black Nationalist proposals and promises, and highly unlikely to follow such leadership now or in the future.

(*3*) It is quite true that some of the *forms* of cooperation, coalition politics and the like, are outmoded. But in the absence of a practical *program*, of a theory of action, the rhetoric of Black Power leads increasingly to concepts that are equally outmoded and illusory. One of these is the repeatedly discredited notion of a sovereign Black Power republic, which became the Communist Party line of the thirties after Stalin's famous pamphlet on the minorities question. It was never accepted by the bulk of American Negroes for two sound reasons: it was impossible of achievement and even if it had been possible many would not have cared to live under it. The Communist Party finally abandoned this chimera, although there was some attempt to revive it on the left-wing cocktail circuit in the postwar period. It is most depressing, then, to hear a dissident CORE leader seriously propose the formation of a black republic embracing all the south-eastern states, including Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky. The talk about an autonomous black republic is as irrational as the notion of "black capitalism" in the Negro ghettos, and stress on control of ghetto institutions phrased so as to imply an apartheid "solution."

(*4*) Fortunately there are indications that in the wake of the post-1966 detour there could be a return to sanity. The new head of SNCC, Phil Hutchings, 26 years old, sounds as if he might have the qualities the times call for. He is reported to be quiet, thoughtful, the kind of man who does his homework. In his first post-election speech, he talked about Socialist revolution rather than black revolution. He is quoted as saying, "We want to put something in [the Negro's] head before putting a gun in his hand, as Chairman Mao said. . . . We must get angry and smart at the same time. The man wants riots. . . . He has armed his police force and he would welcome the chance to kill black people. We've got to move on all levels and on all fronts—angry but smart." Obviously Mr. Hutchings is not pussyfooting, but he seems to know the score.

The Innocents

Periodically a high West German official tries to explain why he joined the Nazi party and how guiltless he was in the Nazi extermination of 6 million Jews. In the latest such episode, the Chancellor himself offered his apologia.

The occasion was the trial of Fritz Gebhard von Hahn, accused of complicity in the murder of more than 30,000 Bulgarian and Greek Jews in 1942-43, when he was a member of the Jewish department of the German Foreign Ministry. Hahn's lawyers called the Chancellor as a witness to establish that Hahn could not have known the Jews were being murdered. Herr Kiesinger was glad to oblige, since the East German press agency had been accusing him of participation as "an active and convinced" Nazi, and the trial afforded him a forum for his own defense.

During the war years, the Nazi Foreign Ministry had a radio-monitoring department that recorded foreign broadcasts, including those which dealt with what was happening to the Jews in Germany and in countries which were on the German side or had been invaded by the Germans. Kiesinger was deputy chief of that division.

"Naturally," he testified, "I heard reports about the fate of Jews from many sources during the war. In the beginning I found these reports incredible, but I gradually began to realize that something was not right about what was happening to the Jews" (*New York Times*, July 5). Until this revelation dawned on him, he assumed the Jews were being sent to work "in munitions or places like that." On the basis of Kiesinger's testimony, the defense argued that Hahn could not have known the Jews he was transporting to Treblinka and other camps were going to their deaths.

Either the good Germans who were only doing their duty during the war years are lying now, or else they were astonishingly stupid then. Hitler and Goebbels had made it perfectly plain that they were planning the "final solution" of the "Jewish question" and were only awaiting the war to put the plan into execution. As long as they were not actually stationed at an extermination camp, the Germans involved in the disposal of the Jews have pleaded as one man that no suspicion entered their heads (until Germany was losing the war and they knew an explanation might be required) that mass murder was afoot.

In their association with the Nazi party they were all

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equally innocent. Kiesinger explained that he had joined in 1933, "but not out of conviction or opportunism." If it was not conviction, what else could it have been but opportunism? Every German politician not an unquestionable anti-Nazi has represented himself as a good man led astray. It has become the most tiresome act in the world, and the Chancellor is no better in the role than the small-time Nazis who have played it before him.

The Sluggish Logistical Tail

Sen. William Proxmire called the attention of the Congress to the most recent issue of the *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* which, he said, "makes clear beyond doubt that the fiscal 1969 defense budget can be cut by at least $10.8 billion without impairing in the slightest way our level of national defense. Indeed combat effectiveness is being held down by extraneous equipment and a sluggish logistical tail." [See also article by Charles Rabb, p. 46 this issue.]

This figure is not something conjured out of thin air. The writers went for their data to high-ranking logistics officers in the Pentagon, some of whom are not without conscience. These sources suggested the following breakdown of cuts which would actually improve combat capability (amounts given are in millions of dollars):

Anti-ballistic-missile system (ABM)	1,100
Bomber defense system (SAGE)	1,000
Surface-to-air missiles	850
Manpower (all four services)	4,200
Tactical aircraft programs (Army, Navy, Air Force)	1,800
Anti-submarine carrier forces	400
Attack carrier forces	360
Amphibious forces and fast deployment logistic ships (FDLs)	500
Manned orbiting laboratory	600
Total	10,810

The cuts are based on elimination of what the CQ sources described as "fat"; overlapping weapons systems, or those of doubtful combat effectiveness, surplus manpower, etc. SAGE, for instance, continues to be deployed against "weak and outmoded" Soviet bomber forces and is for the most part itself outmoded—if it ever was operative at all. Separate helicopter fleets are maintained by the Army and the Air Force.

As for manpower, the Army alone has a total strength of 1,550,000, with 360,000 in combat units, 1,080,000 in support roles beyond those in direct support of combat units, and 110,000 classified as "transients," men en route between assignments. CQ's sources argued that the "transient" category should be eliminated; as one well-placed civilian put it, "let them take it out of their hide as a corporation would." That reduction, plus a 10 per cent reduction in support forces, would yield a reduction of 218,000 troops, with estimated savings of almost $2.2 billion. Equivalent cuts in the Navy would save $900 million, in the Air Force $675 million, in the Marine Corps $400 million.

A Pentagon source cited the current stationing of three carriers in the waters off North Vietnam as an illustration of "irrationality" in carrier deployment. Two carriers must be kept in support for every one on line—a total of nine attack carriers tied up in the war. "We could phase out six of those carriers," the source said, "by pulling only two out of Vietnam, leaving one there for the purpose of keeping Naval Air current in combat experience. Then, at far less cost, we could achieve the same aircraft strength by redeploying land-based aircraft from areas throughout the Pacific."

But will these savings be effected? Judging from past experience, only a fraction of the cuts will be made. Most of the fat will remain. Defense Secretary Clark M. Clifford told a June 20 press conference that the Administration would probably impose cuts of $2 to $3 billion, as part of the $6 billion reduction in the 1969 budget imposed by Congress. One Pentagon source in favor of the $10.8 billion cut found it surprising that Clifford would accept any reductions at all, in view of "pressures from the military and defense industries to keep the budget intact."

Pressures from the old-line politicians are in the same direction. Richard M. Nixon, for instance, denounces the Administration for encouraging Americans to believe they could "go on enjoying guns and butter," but he regards any defense budget cuts at all as "irresponsible and dangerous."

The irresponsibility and the danger lie in the existence of a fantastically overgrown military establishment, able to resist any attempts to cut it down to a reasonable size, despite the recognition by officers that the logistics are indefensible. In the meantime the cities are starved and the social disorganization of the entire country grows apace.

Soviet-American Sobriety

The first direct linking of New York and Moscow by commercial flights represents the latest of many bridges constructed between the two countries in recent weeks. Probably by prearranged signals, the adoption of the non-proliferation treaty by the UN General Assembly opened the gates to a series of moves designed to explore further the areas of mutual U.S.-Soviet interest and to promote agreements likely to stabilize the overall world situation for some time.

The most spectacular aspects of the current Russian mood for a détente are the quick answer of Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko to President Johnson's proposals to reopen bilateral negotiations on offensive and defensive missiles (aborted over a year ago for lack of a Soviet response) and the prompt and businesslike release of the American transport plane bound for Vietnam, which wandered over the Kurile Islands. Likewise, the appeals for a better relationship with Moscow made by President Johnson cannot be ascribed merely to a desire on his part to leave his mark on history as a man dedicated to peace despite the Vietnamese War. Neither can one pass over the quick acknowledgment by Washington of the faulty course of the DC-8 troop transport, or the purely formal nature of the protests made by the U.S. Govern-

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ment over the new East German regulations limiting freedom of access to West Berlin.

There are many other signs. Working relationships between the American and Soviet delegations at the United Nations have been—from the account of the participants themselves—cordial and fruitful. The Soviet memorandum of July 1 opened new avenues on the subject of disarmament, not so much in terms of new proposals as in the seriousness of the tone used and the concrete nature of the points made. After the treaty banning nuclear weapons from outer space, the Soviet Union has joined the United States in the search for ways of preventing military use of another new environment, the sea bed. U.S.-Soviet collaboration in atomic research seems likely in the near future, as American physicists prepare to work at the world's most powerful atom smasher, near Moscow.

Perhaps more important for the present, both the United States and the Soviet Union have started anew to push for a solution to the Middle East problem. While the new American representative to the UN, Ambassador George Ball, has left on a trip to Israel and to three Arab capitals, the Soviet memorandum of July 1 promises negotiations with the West to limit the arms race in the Middle East—a pledge which is conditional, however, upon the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Arab-occupied territories, as President Nasser demanded during his recent visit to Moscow. This is a case where the two superpowers, no matter how eager to reach a settlement, may not be able to bend their client states to their wishes, but they seem determined to try, step by step, in all earnestness.

UN observers attribute this remarkable trend to a number of factors. The first is, of course, the initiation of peace talks on Vietnam, with the cautiously confident hope that they will lead to a settlement. Present American politics and public opinion must reassure Moscow that not even a change in the administration next January could reverse the trend, and that no matter who occupies the White House he is not likely to involve the country soon in another adventure of this type.

Moscow, always fearful of escalation in Vietnam, cannot be more intransigent than the representatives of Hanoi, who are themselves defying Peking in holding talks with U.S. ambassadors-at-large. The North Vietnamese, incidentally, also met in Paris with UN Secretary General U Thant, to whom the People's Republic of China had insultingly returned, unopened, a friendly message a few days before.

Peking's increasingly menacing posture toward the Soviet Union, its systematic isolation from all international intercourse, and its reported recent achievements in the field of intercontinental ballistic missiles all certainly play a large part in Moscow's present moves toward a détente with the United States. On the American side, the danger to the dollar, increased by fantastically large military spending, prompts a reassessment of the orientation of the economy, especially with the themes of poverty and racial unrest beginning to rival Vietnam in the Presidential campaign.

Regardless of the different values in the United States and Russia, there is a need felt in both countries to consolidate the established order, as opposed to "adventurism." In terms of the present philosophy of the Kremlin, adventurism may well be applied to the lonely attempt of Che Guevara and his band to implant armed revolutionary struggle in Bolivia and other parts of Latin America. It can also be a label for student uprisings against the Establishment, in France as well as in countries of Eastern Europe. In contrast to irresponsible dogmatism, a "responsible" policy requires "responsible" actions, based on the solid foundations of power and peace. For the United States, responsible conduct means the yielding of slogans and ideological crusades before the realities of a runaway economy and civil strife.

ANNE TUCKERMAN

Those Idle Millions

In *The Nation* of October 23, 1967, Steve Pelletiere of the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported on a campaign that the Registrar of Charitable Trusts of the state of California was then conducting to force the local division of the American Cancer Society to stop hoarding funds it had received as gifts or bequests and start spending more of these funds for the purpose intended—namely, research or aid to cancer victims. In the wake of this article the national board of directors meeting in New York passed a resolution, binding on all affiliates, which limited their yearly reserves to an amount not exceeding 10 per cent of their latest annual crusade income.

Not only has the San Francisco division now distributed a $1.5 million Program Supplementation Fund, referred to in Mr. Pelletiere's article, but it has assured state authorities that the so-called Dernham Funds—a $2 million bequest of some years back—will be fully committed by 1976.

The success of this effort by a vigilant state agency, under the able direction of Frederic C. Auforth, suggests that if similar action could be initiated at the federal level it might stimulate the flow of charitable funds to the projects for which they were intended. As the California authorities point out, the issue has never been one of malfeasance but of overcoming the innate tendency of fund-raising organizations to nurture "reserves" which just might be useful, on some rainy day, to pay salaries, pensions and other administrative expenses.

Flying Young Man

Toronto

"This election has been a disgraceful surrender to a puffed-up radical after a campaign consisting entirely of adulation and idolatry. The nation has given itself up to a man it does not know and should not trust." "This election shows that Canada is imbued with a new sense of purpose and direction; it shows that the spirit of Expo has taken hold and has flowered into a new vision; it shows that Canada is prepared to gamble, to change, to look to the future instead of the past."

The truth is . . . the truth is that both of these composite quotations are true, for political truth is, after all, relative to the position of the observer. And in Pierre Elliott Trudeau, 48, Canada's Liberal Party leader and

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Prime Minister, Canadians can see many truths, almost as many as there are observers.

For the old guard, and the old-style politicians in particular, the election was indeed a disaster. For them the Trudeau style is anathema. It holds nothing for them; it is too new. His sex appeal—it has been the subject of fascinated and learned debate in Canadian political journals—is alarming; his mastery of the media (his manipulation of his television "image" is complete) is to be distrusted; his pragmatism and eschewal of old-line labels and dogma are distasteful. Why, look at the man: a bachelor, an unconventional dresser, a kisser not of babies but of blondes, a wearer of sandals and a driver of fast cars. Why, he's actually been to China!

To the Conservatives (and conservatives) these things are suspect. They disdainfully called him Plaza Pierre, from his campaign tactic of impromptu meetings in shopping plazas. Whispering campaigns denounced by the hierarchy circulated, hinting at his own lack of morals and his "pinkish" political complexion.

These were some of the reasons why the Conservatives didn't like Pierre Trudeau before the election, but after the vote was counted they had more compelling reasons: Because he showed them that they were wrong, were out of date. He left the Conservative Party (led by Robert Stanfield, a nice, solid, respectable man from Nova Scotia) in ruins. He reduced it from a potent national force to a disgruntled agrarian rump. He swept all its most articulate spokesmen from Canadian cities. He even made inroads into the old Tory strongholds on the Prairies. He gathered in enough votes to form Canada's first majority government (155 seats in a 264-seat House) for ten years.

The Trudeau administration will have no problems with the Conservatives. His majority is large enough to enable him to govern effectively without too much hindrance. His real problems will come from his own followers—from the emotion he has generated among the alienated and disaffected. His personal magnetism has swept up the youth of the country and has delivered them into the political mainstream. His problem will be to keep them there.

During the campaign Trudeau made few specific proposals, delivered few of the specific promises to individuals and pressure groups that have hobbled many a politician before him. He came to power unencumbered by political debts. But these are the old-style debts, the old-style pledges. To his followers he has delivered another pledge, a far greater pledge, that of a new style, a new spirit, a new and exciting sense of purpose and of destiny. He has caught up a new generation of young Canadians in an outburst of enthusiasm far greater than anything Canadian political life has known. It will be difficult to deliver what they want.

Whatever the outcome of the election, there was bound to be some disillusion. If Trudeau had lost, it is possible—and likely—that the youth of the country would have turned their backs on the political process and their leader as thoroughly as the youth of the United States seem to have turned their backs on President Johnson. Now the young have their hero, with no clear idea of what they want him to do. The parliamentary system, even more than the Presidential system, does not encourage heroics.

Trudeau is aware of this, and to some extent welcomes it. It was reported that he was becoming uneasy about the hysteria of some of his young admirers. Uneasy and a little scornful: the man does not suffer fools easily. But he cannot afford to thwart the revolution of expectation entirely, either for his own sake or for that of the government. Involvement in the political process has been one of the main themes of his campaign and now he has to make it work. Watching to see how and if he achieves this goal will provide much of the political interest here in the coming months.

When Parliament resumes in September, Trudeau will have to deliver specific answers to special problems. Somehow he will have to juggle the specifics of inflation, unemployment, a national housing crisis, and an unwilling, cumbersome, traditionalist bureaucracy against his own remarkable personal prestige and come up with answers that promise to continue the sense of renewal he has started. If he succeeds—as he may—none will quibble; if he doesn't, his critics (and his followers) will cut him down at the polls next time as they have cut down other leaders in the past who opened a road they were unable to travel.

MARQ DE VILLIERS

Advice to Hacks and Radicals

On both local and national levels, political machines tend to run the most respectably conservative and issue-shy candidates that they estimate their constituents will tolerate. To them the "lesser evil" epithet rings like "safe and sound"; to them the victory of a candidacy based exclusively on political principle would bring a reassignment of power within the party—a possibility too anxiety-producing for career politicians to consider.

A New York State Democratic Committeeman was elected June 18 whose campaign might serve as lesson and example to both party hack and radical: To hack: it can be advantageous, electorally speaking, to stick your neck out and suicidal not to. To radical: you can succeed in electoral politics without compromising on the issues. Michael Colen, a member of Students for a Democratic Society at Columbia University, and occupant of Fayerweather Hall during the Columbia rebellion, won 60 per cent of the vote in the Manhattan Democratic primary against a candidate of the Riverside Democrats. Although a Reform club, it has enjoyed hegemony over Morningside Heights as safe as that of any old-line machine in Brooklyn.

Mr. Colen, who is working for a doctorate in political theory at Columbia, studied the "educational campaign" of *Ramparts* editor, Robert Scheer, who in 1966 ran for Congress in California and got 49 per cent of the vote. Fifteen months ago, Colen founded the Morningside Independents, which ran him for District Leader on the then radical platform of disendorsement of Johnson and immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam; he received 30 per cent of the vote against the Riverside candidate. MI canvassers were instructed to include "immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam" in their opening statement to voters, and to limit discussion to issues and ideology.

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POLLS AND THE RIGHT TO 'NO'

DON M. MUCHMORE

Mr. Muchmore is chairman of the board of The State Poll (syndicated by the Los Angeles Times*). Opinion Research of California, Opinion Surveyors and Market Surveys. As a confidential political pollster he has worked with hundreds of candidates, ranging from Republican to Democrat, and Liberal to Conservative. He also has been a professor of political science and the vice chancellor of the California State Colleges.*

Anyone who had received a nickel for every statement by political observers that nothing is predictable in election year 1968 would by now be a very rich man, even given the state of the current inflationary economy. It has become a cliché that where this year's politics are concerned, all bets are off, anything goes. The very concept of political predictability has come to be regarded with a jaundiced eye.

Such an attitude is understandable enough. An election year which has seen abrupt withdrawals, re-entries and reassessments by major political figures, third party candidacies, the refusal of an incumbent President to stand for re-election, and the assassination of a second Kennedy, is certainly a year in which predictions about the future are perilous indeed.

The results of many Congressional primary contests—the Lausche, Morse and Kuchel elections come particularly to mind—have served to confound the prognosticators further. A major television network with a long record of correct election night projections failed badly for the first time in the Kennedy-McCarthy contest in the California primary.

As a result, the notion has arisen that in political 1968 all is indeed chaos, that there is a total resistance on the part of the political processes to conform to any rule at all; or rather, the rule seems to be that there is no rule. But, as poets and politicians often remark, things are not always what they seem. So it shouldn't be surprising that in the midst of what seems to be total anarchy, a reliance on predictability on the part of political professionals should be one of the salient, if unsung, features of the current political scene.

What I refer to is the developing importance of the political poll to the political process. The pollster's public role is well known. In the present campaign Governor Rockefeller has made particular use of the polls to try to gain momentum for his candidacy. What is less generally known is the role opinion samplers play as private polling services for political clients.

Using increasingly sophisticated methods, a profusion of polling and sampling concerns has arisen, with the usual motive of providing candidates and professionals in the political field with information about the attitudes of the electorate. The demands placed on such pollsters by the needs of professional politics have necessitated a much greater sophistication about the kinds of information pollsters can provide for their clients. Accuracy is generally higher than formerly, especially among analysts working for candidates rather than for the news media. (An error of prediction may be embarrassing to a newspaper; it can be fatal to a candidate.)

Today's pollsters are concerned with more than immediate statistical information (so-called "position" statistics, ranking candidates on the basis of raw popularity and potential electability). What is demanded by office seekers, and what must be provided by pollsters, are sophisticated and subtle analyses of the whole spectrum of voter response. In addition to the determination of the candidate's image among his electorate (almost the least important factor to be determined), the pollster must provide a thoroughgoing analysis of the issues likely to be involved in the campaign.

The identification and development of issues becomes a key aspect of the opinion analyst's assignment. The analyst must combine expertise in the development of issue-oriented information with extensive knowledge of practical politics and campaign strategy. In addition, each pollster has his own emphasis which supplements and illuminates the purely quantitative.

As polls and opinion samples have gained in importance, the inevitable charges of manipulation of the public have been made. The notion that a politician, by determining through confidential polling exactly what his public wants to hear, can then cynically dispense those statements to gain maximum support—thus proceeding from one "rigged" victory to another—has gained currency in certain quarters. But politicians willing to tell the public only what it wants to hear have always been with us and probably always will be. To dispense with a useful tool, simply because ill use is made of it by some, seems shortsighted.

To a political leader of strong commitments to the democratic process, the confidential poll *can* be a useful tool. Polls give him extensive knowledge of the public frames of reference in which his ideas will be received. It is an obvious help to a politician to know in what terms to communicate his ideas, not only for his own benefit but also for the benefit of his listeners. Obviously, successful politics—successful democratic politics at any rate—involves a rapport between representatives and the electorate.

But how can anyone communicate with such a vast electorate as now exists? Sheer numbers present a communication barrier. Public opinion surveys can thus help inform a representative of the beliefs and attitudes of his constituents.

A properly constructed, issue-oriented public opinion survey will reveal the beliefs and attitudes of the population under scrutiny, its deep-seated convictions and hostilities. Such gut responses are critical to political planning because they reveal basic attitudes, subject to change only over considerable periods of time.

Sampling experience has shown that such bedrock response has a natural tendency to be negative. People

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generally become more involved in protests *against* rather than in support *for* particular issues or policies. Such negativism was shown, for example, in the "carpetbagger" issue that played a prominent role in the 1964 California Democratic primary. In the contest for the Senate, Pierre Salinger took heavy punishment on this count. Californians evidently being resistant to the idea of electing an "outlander." It wasn't until a confidential poll made clear what was occurring that Salinger was able to blunt the edge of this issue by repeated reference to his early years in the state.

Most gut issues are generally negative in character. Polling experience merely shows that endemic negativism is a natural feature of any political landscape. What seems to be out of the ordinary in the current political landscape is the presence of a radical *epidemic* negativism, virulent and extensive. For some time the electorate has vacillated in a mood of uneasiness, out of which this epidemic negativism has emerged.

Such negativism is expressed clearly in an examination of current political involvement. Although knowledge among the national electorate has increased substantially, personal involvement is on the decline. For instance, one survey indicates that three times as many people can identify their Congressmen today as could twenty years ago, but survey results in the same area show a decrease of 33 per cent in active involvement. In addition, the responses to polls and surveys have shown another significant change in character in the past two years. Whereas responses previously contained an element of problem-solving suggestions in areas of national life with which the persons polled were dissatisfied, current responses in these areas are almost totally negative. The American people seem less disposed to suggest alternative programs, but more disposed to verbalize their lack of satisfaction. The total effect suggests general and negatively oriented confusion.

A number of observers have noted this negativism. Kingman Brewster, Jr., president of Yale University, made some cogent remarks in connection with the assassination of Senator Kennedy when he referred to a "pall of negativism" sweeping the nation. "It is so much simpler to mobilize a legion under a negative slogan than to organize agreement on one out of an infinite number of affirmative possibilities."

Wherever such a widespread phenomenon as this negativism occurs, it is likely that at least part of the motivation for it lies particularly close at hand. In the present case, public opinion surveys show that American negativism is in part a result of the recent performance of the national government—in part a "spontaneous withdrawal of the mandate to govern" from the present Administration.

The Lausche, Morse and Kuchel experiences further indicate the public's no-confidence mood. Here were three veteran, highly regarded legislators, each favored to keep his seat in the Senate. But two of them were defeated, while the third, Morse, barely survived. The three are of disparate backgrounds, with disparate political views, running against different kinds of opponents; their chief point in common was their incumbency. And the public is displaying little confidence in incumbents, whatever their political stripe.

Although this negativism has already produced some "positive" results—the "resignation" of the President and the national Administration, the primary defeat of some incumbent legislators—its net effect has been generally

disruptive. This is particularly true of the relationship between our adult middle class and its youth. The actions of college students, of young people parading in the streets, reflect repeated expressions of negativism at the middle-class American dinner table. Withdrawal from active politics by the adult community produces the appearance (if not the reality) of inadequacy in the normal political process.

The obvious result is the frustration of young people brought up to believe in a world susceptible to change. This leads inevitably to immediate, less constructive forms of political action. Hence sit-ins, draft card burnings, riots. It seems likely that such unorthodox political action will continue until there is a return of the general electorate to the normal political processes. In that connection the increased self-knowledge and understanding made available through the public opinion poll can be of service to the electorate.

There are some likely dangers connected with such knowledge. As an earlier observer pointed out, "An increase of knowledge increases sorrow." But without an increase of knowledge, together with the commitment that might follow from it, sorrow is not merely likely to result. It is certain to.

SUMMER SCHEDULE

During July and August, *The Nation* will appear on alternate weeks: forthcoming issues will be dated August 5, August 19 and August 26.

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SYMBOLIC SPEECH

THE DRAFT CARD BURNERS

PETER W. MARTIN
Mr. Martin is associate professor of law at the University of Minnesota. From 1964 to 1967 he was an officer in the Air Force, assigned to the Office of the General Counsel to the Secretary of the Air Force.

Toward the end of June, a remarkable demonstration took place in Washington, across the street from the Supreme Court building. Twelve women, standing in a circle and holding hands, burned a dozen draft cards furnished them for that purpose by male anti-war protesters. Burning one's own draft card is no longer a phenomenon. This variation on the familiar ceremony is explained by the participants' desire to condemn not only the war and the draft but to protest as well (and perhaps circumvent) a recent Supreme Court decision, *United States* v. *O'Brien.* In that case, the Court upheld against constitutional challenge the puerile dare to dissenters issued by Congress in 1965: "Burn a draft card and you face up to five years in jail and a fine of $10,000."

The Columbia University uprising catalyzed a flood of commentary on the permissible limits of civil disobedience. Although much of it has come from lawyers (including such prominent men as Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas, Solicitor General Erwin Griswold, and ABA President Earl Morris), judgments about the propriety of civil disobedience—conduct that is by definition illegal—necessarily derive from moral rather than legal principles. Before an act of protest raises moral issues, however, it must be clear that it is in truth civil disobedience and not the perfectly lawful exercise of the right of free speech guaranteed by the First Amendment. The definition of this boundary of civil disobedience is a legal problem and was the task addressed by the Supreme Court in the O'Brien case.

The boundary is not so easy to discern as many statements of the issue would suggest. The typical, too-simple approach is epitomized by this comment of a judge, made while sentencing a convicted draft card burner:

> You have the right of dissent. You have the right to disagree with those in authority. . . . But you have no right to violate the law simply because you disagree with it. If you have that right, then so does every other citizen. Instead of a free society, we have anarchy.

The dichotomy here drawn between dissent and violating the law is deceptively sharp. Concealed is the fundamental conflict which exists between the individual's right to all effective means of expression and society's interest in prohibiting harmful conduct, a conflict that demands some mutual accommodation.

The complexity of the issue not only marks it as an important constitutional question but also has relevance to moral judgments on borderline protest activity. As the moral logic of an individual's decision to disobey an unjust law is most often described, it requires weighing the fundamental value which the disputed law offends against the citizen's moral (not merely legal) obligation to adhere to laws established by democratic procedures. To the extent that the First Amendment casts doubt upon the illegality of the contemplated conduct, this moral dilemma is eased.

A citizen enjoys no automatic immunity when he disobeys a law because he considers it unjust. He does have a right, though, to ignore a law that is invalid because contrary, either generally or specifically as applied to him, to some superior law. Since there is no single definitive source of law under our form of government, such instances of invalidity are not unusual. With protest demonstrations the potential for conflict is particularly high because of the First Amendment's protection of speech. The guarantee of the right of free speech extends not only to traditional forms of expression, written and oral but also, to some extent, to conduct which symbolically expresses a point of view. It is this range of First Amendment protection that makes it no easy matter to distinguish civil disobedience from constitutionally shielded dissent.

On March 31, 1966, David O'Brien, then 19 years old, burned his Selective Service registration certificate, standing on the steps of the South Boston Courthouse before a sizable crowd that included members of the press. He was subsequently convicted of violating the criminal provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1948, amended by Congress in 1965 to provide a $10,000 fine or five-year prison term for anyone who "knowingly destroys" or "knowingly mutilates" his registration certificate or classification notice (the "draft cards" of common parlance). O'Brien appealed, arguing that the First Amendment barred Congress from punishing his conduct. After mixed success in the U.S. Court of Appeals, his case reached the Supreme Court. Rarely has the Court had a better opportunity to clarify the relationship between free speech and civil disobedience.

The purpose of O'Brien's act was to communicate. He told the jury that he burned his draft card publicly "so that other people would re-evaluate their positions with Selective Service, with the armed forces, and re-evaluate their place in the culture of today, to hopefully consider my position." On the other hand, the statute in question merely prohibited conduct which arguably interfered with the administration of the Selective Service System, a matter of legitimate concern to Congress.

The Supreme Court's decision, written by departing Chief Justice Earl Warren, began by reiterating the Court's consistent unwillingness to recognize conduct as falling within the concept of "free speech" merely because its performance reveals a clear intention to convey an idea. As other courts speaking to this same issue have pointed out, using an example to which nerves are now only too sensitive, the political assassin surely cannot be permitted to argue that his act—expressive of deeply felt political views—is therefore immune from punishment.

But an equally intolerable extreme would be the view

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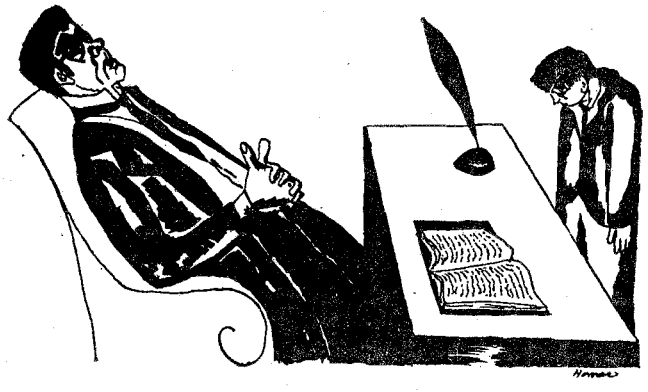
that nonverbal conduct, no matter how communicative, can be regulated or prohibited without regard for the First Amendment. The social importance of nonverbal protest has led one commentator to call it, quite aptly, the "poor man's printing press." And in any event, the Supreme Court is committed by precedent to a broader interpretation of "speech." Picketing and the display of a flag, for example, have been held to be protected forms of communication. Consequently, in the O'Brien case, the Court would have found it difficult to affirm the statute simply by labeling draft card burning "conduct" not "speech." Chief Justice Warren assumed for the purpose of the decision that under the circumstances O'Brien's act had enough of the elements of speech to compel consideration of the First Amendment.

The assumption that First Amendment interests were at stake by no means assured constitutional protection:

> This Court has held that when "speech" and "nonspeech" elements are combined in the same course of conduct, a sufficiently important governmental interest



> in regulating the nonspeech element can justify incidental limitations on First Amendment freedoms.

A balance between the two interests, individual and governmental, must be struck. The balancing formula outlined in the O'Brien decision is comprised of three steps. Conduct which combines "speech" and "nonspeech" elements can be restricted or prohibited by Congress if: (*1*) the governmental interest supporting the regulation is "important or substantial"; (*2*) this same governmental interest is "unrelated to the suppression of free expression"; and (*3*) the restriction on expression is "incidental" and "no greater than is essential to the furtherance of that interest." It is difficult to fault this as an abstract statement of the balance which must be struck if the umbrella of the First Amendment is to be extended (as it must be) beyond pure verbal communication. Where the O'Brien opinion falls down is in its perfunctory application of this formula. In each step, the Court ignored factors which common sense insists are relevant.

The first two steps are closely intertwined: is there a governmental interest, unrelated to the suppression of expression which lies behind the statute forbidding the destruction of draft cards, an interest which is substantial, compelling or cogent? As the Court reaffirmed, Congress has authority to make all laws necessary and proper to the raising and supporting of armies, including laws providing for the registration and induction of individuals for training and service. From this base, the Court jumped to the following conclusion:

> The issuance of certificates indicating the registration and eligibility classification of individuals is a legitimate and substantial administrative aid in the functioning of this system. And legislation to insure the continuing availability of issued certificates serves a legitimate and substantial purpose in the system's administration.

More precisely, what is this substantial purpose? O'Brien's attorney had belittled the importance of the requirement, on which the Court here relies, that a registrant keep his draft cards (both registration certificate and classification notice) in his possession at all times. The Court found the purpose, or rather purposes, in some of the suggestions made by the government attorneys arguing the case. The requirement permits, it was urged, a suspected delinquent to prove compliance with the law in a manner convenient both to him and the Selective Service System: it operates as a safeguard against mix-ups in the registrant's file; in the event of national emergency, the cards permit a rapid, on-the-spot call-up no matter how far the registrant is from his local board: they facilitate communication between registrant and the Selective Service, cutting down on unnecessary reference to files, furnishing the registrant continual access to his Selective Service number and local board's address—and so on.

The Court's pliant acceptance of these speculative justifications for the law would perhaps be appropriate in the case of a regulation under attack solely for an alleged lack of reasonable legislative purpose; but it is much too superficial for a major confrontation between the First Amendment and Congressional power. There are few prohibitions for which a set of theoretically plausible purposes, unrelated to expression, cannot be spun. On past occasions, the Supreme Court has been more ready to see through such fabricated "governmental interests" when First Amendment freedoms were in jeopardy.

Like so many features of the Selective Service System, the regulation that a registrant keep his draft cards continually in his possession is a thoughtless carryover of a policy which originated several wars ago. Under the Selective Service Act of 1917, regulations required the possession of either the registration certificate or final classification card. Registrants had the duty to show the card to Selective Service or police officials when called upon to do so.

During March of 1918, nine months after the initial registration of 10 million men, the Justice Department organized the first "slacker raids" in Pittsburgh. "Slackers," those unpatriotic enough not to register, were rooted out. They were identified by their inability to produce a draft card. The greatest and last "slacker raid" took place in New York City, the first week in September, 1918. *The Nation* reported (September 14, 1918):

> Men were torn from their wives' sides in the theatres, yanked out of street cars, pulled off milk-wagons and

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> trucks of all kinds, which vehicles were left to stand where they were abandoned. Men from up-State and New Jersey—and there were thousands of them—who had no warning of the raid and had left their cards at home—were first taken to police stations and then to an armory, where everything was utter confusion and where many spent the entire night upon their feet. Numbers were held by the police who showed their registration cards, but were without their classification cards, which have never been issued by the draft boards of many up-State towns.

An estimated 75,000 were "arrested" in New York and nearby towns, fewer than 3 per cent of them turning out to be men who had not registered. Spurred by public outrage, President Wilson ordered an inquiry, and Congress condemned the raids.

Throughout World War II, the Justice Department was extremely careful to prevent a recurrence. Even during the concentrated delinquency campaign in early 1943, U.S. Attorneys were instructed that

> Mass raids, large-scale arrests, and indiscriminate challenging of men of selective service age are not warranted in view of the relatively small number of reported delinquencies and because of embarrassment and inconvenience to law-abiding citizens which such practices would entail.

But the possession requirement was not dropped.

Then, as now, willful nonpossession of a draft card, being the violation of a regulation, was a crime. But during the war, of 15,758 convictions for draft law violations, only 255 were for failure to possess draft cards. The 1946 annual report of the director for the Federal Bureau of Prisons describes those guilty of these technical violations as "mostly socially inadequate individuals of low intelligence who were simply careless about their obligations under the act. Many of these came to the attention of the authorities through arrests for vagrancy or on other minor charges, and, because they did not possess draft cards, were given Selective Service Act violation sentences."

In short, from the suspension of "slacker raids" in World War I until the burning and returning of draft cards became a common form of protest against the war in Vietnam, the duty to keep them on one's person amounted to an atrophied regulation, and found its only vitality as a snare for a few unfortunates. Under such circumstances, a strong presumption is cast against the claims of those who find underlying it a "compelling" governmental interest.

Current treatment of the regulation by the government suggests that the major effect of the requirement is to provide a means of punishing those who violate the regulation as a form of dissent. If there were any significant concern with the sorts of problems enumerated by the Court, one would expect that violations by nondissenters would be taken more seriously. Yet neither the regulation nor supporting criminal provisions are systematically applied against the large numbers of American men who fail to carry their draft cards. In the first draft card burning case, U.S. District Judge Harold Tyler, Jr., conceded: ". . . almost certainly thousands of men in recent decades, *including the writer,* have unwittingly failed to carry their cards at all times without ever having been called to show or produce them." The government's true view of the regulation (until dissent clouds the picture) is that it is a mere technicality. If the registrant who has violated such a technical provision of the regulations is willing to cure his "delinquency" the Justice Department, as a general rule, does not prosecute. No doubt a principal reason for the lack of across-the-board enforcement is the severity of the penalty. The fact that there is no reluctance to apply the sanction when nonpossession is part of protest activity reveals the actual interest served by the provision, which is very clearly the punishment of protest and the suppression of dissent.

O'Brien's argument on this score relied on two other points, the circumstances under which the bill was enacted and statements made by the bill's supporters, which betrayed a desire to limit dissent. He cited Congressman Bray's diatribe on "Beatniks and so-called 'campus-cults'" who had "been publicly burning their draft cards to demonstrate their contempt for the United States and our resistance to Communist take overs," and the "filthy, sleazy beatnik gang led by a Yale University professor" which "just yesterday" demonstrated in Washington for the Vietcong.

The Supreme Court rejected this evidence of motive with a statement of its traditional, and justifiable, reluctance to strike down legislation on the basis of what some of the legislators may have said before voting. The Court's detached search for a governmental interest seems just as unacceptable, however. To consider the circumstances of enactment as evidence of the governmental interest embodied in a statute is not subject to this same objection. And unless examined, symbolic protest activity is in jeopardy. A legislative body that chooses statutory language with care to avoid a prohibition which "on its face" is aimed at expression and to lay the foundation for a colorable claim of "substantial governmental interest" can vitiate First Amendment rights unless subject to deeper judicial scrutiny.

It is hard to imagine a case in which the events surrounding enactment could speak more clearly of the actual interest served by the legislation. Draft card burning emerged as a form of protest in the summer of 1965. When U.S. troops entered openly into the Vietnamese fighting in June and the force level rose, the draft and military recruitment became natural foci of anti-war sentiment. On July 29, 1965, about 400 people protesting the war picketed an army recruiting center in New York City. During the rally, several young men burned their draft cards. A week later, Rep. Mendel Rivers introduced a bill to make destruction of draft cards a crime.

There seems little doubt that the draft law already furnished a means of punishing this form of protest. After burning his draft card, the protester had no way of complying with the regulation's command that he keep his card in his possession at all times. For willful violation of that regulation he faced criminal penalties. Nevertheless, Congress recognized a serious threat to the war effort and moved with unprecedented dispatch to pass the Rivers bill.

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Before a month had passed, it had been enacted into law.

The fact that certain conduct has gained widespread use as a symbol of protest before restrictive legislative action occurs cannot, of course, be permitted to tie the hands of Congress where there is truly "compelling" governmental interest in controlling the conduct. But it should lead a court to demand greater evidence of a substantial interest unrelated to the suppression of expression than could be offered for this statute.

The ultimate disappointment of the O'Brien decision is its failure to give any serious discussion to the final stage in the balancing formula initially set forth by the Court, i.e., whether "the incidental restriction on alleged First Amendment freedom is no greater than is essential to the furtherance" of the governmental interest underlying the regulation.

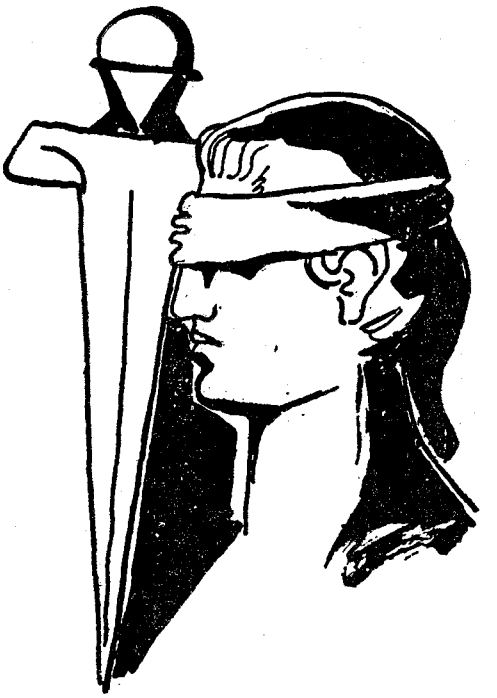
No doubt the Supreme Court considered this "an indirect and minimal abridgement of speech," to adopt a phrase used by the U.S. Court of Appeals (second circuit) in another draft card burning case. Yet for a number of reasons this mode of communication has great value, particularly to the American male under 21, so that its prohibition is no minor limitation on expression, notwithstanding the continuing unrestricted right "to criticize national policy as vigorously as [one desires] by the written or spoken word." O'Brien was denied direct participation in the democratic processes of change. He was too young to vote. The issue he addressed is one of the most momentous this nation has ever faced. Of course, he had the right to write and speak; but access to large-scale communication media in America comes at a high price. The failure of Congress to confront the issues of Vietnam made the need for a forceful appeal to the public all the more urgent.

Nor should it be forgotten that O'Brien, like most protesters against the war, sought to raise not just points of national policy (and morality) but also to challenge U.S. conduct on legal grounds. The courts, in which the Southern Negro found redress, have consistently closed their doors to arguments that the war is illegal in terms of our own constitutional processes and applicable international law. They have characterized these as "political questions" which are therefore nonjusticiable. Judge Ford refused to admit evidence or argument on the legality of the Vietnamese War in the Spock-Coffin conspiracy trial for precisely these reasons. Because of this doctrine of abstention, unrepresented young men are being required to serve in a war that they consider not only immoral but illegal, and are denied the opportunity to have their legal questions dealt with on the merits.

In this context, to characterize the restriction on expression which flows from the prohibition of draft card burning as "incidental" is unrealistic. Congressional reaction to a handful of burnings attests to the power of the symbol. The public burning of a draft card expresses with unique force the individual's stand on the Vietnamese War and the draft.

The misfortune of the O'Brien opinion is not to be found in its effect on David O'Brien. Nor does the misfortune lie in the decision's effect on future draft card burners. To the protester who makes the difficult decision to engage in dissent by returning his draft card or burning it, the moral issue is now only somewhat sharpened by the certainty that such conduct is not protected by the First Amendment and thus must be undertaken as a true act of civil disobedience. Instead, the misfortune, felt by the entire public, is that the country is now denied uninhibited expression of important views on a crucial issue in a singularly dramatic form. Added to this specific loss is the long-term danger that Congress and state legislatures will take the O'Brien decision as an invitation to eliminate other unpopular techniques of protest.

This last worry is not farfetched. On June 25, Congress, likely encouraged by the O'Brien case, passed a bill pro-



hibiting the burning or other deliberate mutilation of the flag. Fortunately, the Supreme Court has an immediate opportunity to halt this ripple effect; it has already agreed to review a New York Court of Appeals decision which upheld New York's flag burning statute against the challenge that it violated freedom of speech.

Completeness requires the final, probably futile, observation that Congress could undo the foolishness of the present draft card law. Should it ever get around to acting on Sen. Edward Kennedy's thoroughly commendable proposed revision of the Selective Service Act this is one more item that deserves attention. Senator Kennedy's bill makes no change in the criminal section of the Act. It should. The Act ought to be amended to distinguish the serious offenses of attempted evasion and deceptive use of draft cards from minor technical violations like nonpossession or destruction. The latter hardly warrant punishment, at most a small fine. Better still, the anachronistic possession requirement ought to be eliminated.

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MILITARY 'SOFTWARE'

CHARLES RABB
Mr. Rabb is a reporter in the Washington bureau of the New York Daily News.

While campus militants mount protests against university research to aid the Vietnamese War, the Pentagon's nonmilitary research program continues to thrive in virtual anonymity. Project Camelot—that abortive Pentagon study of revolution in Latin America—was only a quick glimpse beneath the surface. In fact, so little is known about defense research in the social and behavioral sciences and foreign policy fields that recent disclosures about the extent of the program came as a surprise to Senators who have been voting money for it for years.

Operating under the protective umbrella of national security, the Pentagon can usually get what it wants from Congress. Thus, it is able to finance a wide-ranging "software" research program—projects, that is, apart from its basic and weapons research—which frequently has little relevance to defense needs and might more usefully be carried out by other agencies of government.

Much of this research—underwritten at premium prices—appears to be tied more closely to a researcher's interest than to a military need. Some of it is of dubious quality or merely self-serving.

That is the pattern that emerges from a recent study of the Pentagon's nonmilitary research program by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The indictment falls most heavily on the Defense Department, but does not exempt the Congress, which uncritically votes Defense funds, or the many social, political and behavioral scientists who are willing beneficiaries of the Pentagon's largess.

The record of lavish Pentagon spending for nonmilitary research was compiled by the committee under the direction of its chairman, J. William Fulbright. It is part of what may be the most determined effort since post-World War II days to challenge some of the basic policy underlying multibillion-dollar defense programs.

The challenge is a symptom of frustration over the war in Vietnam and the Senate's inability to gain an important voice in shaping the spiraling Defense budget. The showdown will come some time this month when a bill to provide the actual money for the $21.3 billion military procurement authorization for fiscal 1969 reaches the Senate.

Of these targets, the non-weapons research program is probably the most vulnerable. The skirmishing over research spending started with Fulbright and other war critics trying to pick holes in the Defense budget, but has now enlisted a growing number of Senators who are disturbed by the size and sweep of Pentagon research.

Sen. Karl Mundt (R., S.Dak.), seldom found in the company of doves, says he is "disenchanted with the way they have roamed all over the countryside with research money. It's pretty hard to justify in terms of national defense or any other activity." Mundt views the research budget as a member of the Foreign Relations and Appropriations Committees. It will be up to Appropriations to trim off some of the fat before the military bill reaches the Senate floor. Sen. John Stennis (D., Miss.), manager of the procurement authorization bill, indicated in floor debate his ignorance of the scope of the Pentagon's nonmilitary research, and acknowledged that it had not been studied in detail by the Armed Services Committee before it approved the Pentagon's procurement figures.

According to varying Defense Department figures, either $34 million or $41 million is being handed out this year for nonmilitary studies in the social and behavioral sciences. Next year the Pentagon would like to increase the amount to $50 million. Senator Fulbright estimates current Pentagon spending for foreign policy studies at $27 million. This compares with a puny $125,000 State Department research budget. A spokesman says State is requesting the same amount for the new fiscal year and adds: "We'll be lucky to get that much."

The prospect of Pentagon generosity for such projects as "Experimental Study of Development of Consensus" ($20,000), "Great World Issues of 1980" ($49,782), "Porter-International Self-Help Study" ($252,949) and "Social Bases of Stable Political Systems" ($232,300) draws researchers like a magnet. By the Foreign Relations Committee's last count, more than 250 colleges and universities are involved in Department of Defense nonmilitary projects, despite Vietnam-inspired doubts as to whether the academic community should be so dependent on Pentagon benevolence.

And under Project Themis—a sort of research share-the-wealth program—forty-two institutions in thirty-one states were provided with long-term Pentagon financing in fiscal 1967, the first year of a program to develop fifty new research "centers of excellence" in areas not now getting substantial support. A total of 173 schools submitted 483 proposals in the hope of qualifying for "the minimum critical funding" of $200,000 annually.

It is difficult to imagine what use the Pentagon can make of many of the "software" studies it finances. Take, for example, "Quantitative Political Science." This project, the Pentagon says, "attempts to relate information about attributes of nations, such as size, population, gross national product, educational level, number of radios and number of farmers to other characteristics of nations such as occurrence of riots and revolutions and participation in external wars." Its chief sources are newspapers, the *New York Times* Index and the *International Yearbook*. For this, $595,000 is being paid to research teams at Hawaii, Southern California and Yale Universities.

Or consider "Comparative Research on Behavioral Change," now under way at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. According to Frederick W. Frey, the M.I.T. political science professor directing the project, it is a study of how individuals in different cultures respond to major social changes. Planned as a five-year $4 million project, it will include studies of three developing and two European societies, as well as the United States. It may be

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socially useful, but is somewhat remote from the responsibilities of the Defense Department.

Called before the Foreign Relations Committee to explain the Pentagon's need for many of these "software" studies, Dr. John S. Foster, Jr., director of Defense Research and Engineering, reasoned as follows:

> Opportunities and capabilities for progress emerge from an understanding of how to deter war and build a peaceful world. Part of this understanding comes, in turn, from social and behavioral sciences research and foreign area assessments related to any contingency and area in which a substantial American commitment might occur. Research to support national security cannot be defined meaningfully in any other way.

This could be interpreted as meaning that, because U.S. troops might go anywhere, the Pentagon could justify almost any study. Or, as a Defense social sciences panel put it in a report to the Pentagon last year, "the Department of Defense must now wage not only warfare but peacefare as well."

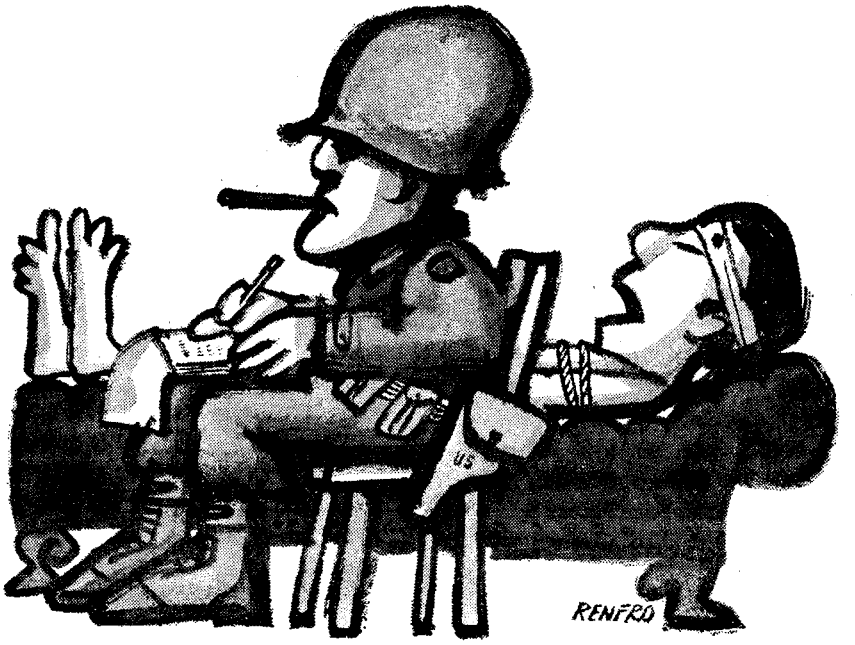
Irving Louis Horowitz, author of *The Rise and Fall of Project Camelot,* called the panel's report "a statement that can easily be read as the ominous conversion of social science into a service industry of the Pentagon." Horowitz, a professor of sociology at Washington University, St. Louis, continued: "Most of the scholars who prepared this report have one striking similarity—they have powerful and simultaneous academic and government linkages. They move casually and easily from university to federal affiliation—and back again to the university."

Misgivings about the Pentagon's research role can also be found in the ranks of the military. Vice Admiral Hyman Rickover believes the military's emphasis on social science research detracts from its efficiency. There is, he feels, a too great tendency among military and other government people to "abrogate their technical responsibilities under the theory that their job is to manage, not to do technical work." Except at the top levels, he finds, there is very little service demand for nonmilitary research.

A substantial portion of the Pentagon research pie is divided among the "think tanks," which offer policy, planning and technical advice, mostly to government clients. Sixteen of what are classified as Federal Contract Research Centers receive at least 85 per cent of their funds from the Pentagon. These establishments, among the biggest of which are RAND and the Institute for Defense Analysis, will take in $294 million for "software" and "hardware" research this year and expect to be given $304 million next year. Seven of the sixteen have either a president or a vice president who came from the Pentagon payroll. Ivan A. Getting, former head of Air Force planning and development, earns $90,000 a year as president of Aerospace of Santa Monica, Calif., which is doing a business of $74 million a year, all but $1.8 million coming from the Pentagon.

IDA, a neighbor of the Pentagon in Arlington, Va., takes in $10.6 million from its fiscal 1968 Defense contracts. It earns less than $600,000 from other government and private clients. IDA's president, at $49,200 a year, is Gen. Maxwell Taylor, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and ex-Ambassador to South Vietnam, as well as a principal adviser on Vietnam to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

It was an IDA study that led to a tug of war between the Pentagon and Fulbright. The Foreign Relations chairman sought to make the Pentagon turn loose an IDA study of the national military command and control center operation during the Tonkin Gulf crisis. The study includes a general description of the Tonkin events—a subject of close scrutiny by the committee. The Pentagon doubted it would interest Fulbright since, it explained, the study was not an analysis of the whole situation and the author was thus not given information on official decisions. However, as an analysis of command and control



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operating procedures, the Pentagon added, "it proved quite useful and fully justified its cost of approximately $26,000."

Since last October Fulbright has also been trying to get the Pentagon to release a declassified version of "Pax Americana" ($89,500), later renamed "Strategic Alignments and Military Objectives." The Douglas Aircraft Company has been privately circulating its own unclassified version under the title "Projected World Patterns—1985." Fulbright, who has seen a classified version, says the study "recommends that large numbers of American troops be stationed abroad for the next decade."

If it were only a case of Pentagon dollars bankrolling questionable research, that would be serious enough. Actually, Defense contracts now current have the potential to become further Camelots, repeating the embarrassment caused the United States three years ago when it became publicly known that the Pentagon was underwriting an "internal-war" study in Chile and three other Latin American countries, much to the surprise and anger of the U.S. Ambassador in Chile.

Gerald D. Berreman, a University of California anthropology professor, withdrew from the Himalayan Border Countries project when he learned that it was being underwritten by the Pentagon ($282,840). In a letter to Fulbright, Berreman quoted an unnamed Indian "committed to furthering social science research in India" as saying that Pentagon sponsorship was "like sitting on dynamite."

While the sums involved may seem relatively insignificant in an $80 billion defense budget, the loosely supervised funding of research is an indication of how Congress votes Defense dollars. Apart from lacking the information necessary to resist effectively the pleas of the Pentagon's corps of specialized personnel, Congressmen show an obvious political reluctance to be on fighting terms with the Defense Department. As former Sen. Paul Douglas once remarked:

> We are always afraid that if we vote for a reduction in a given expenditure, not only will our friends in the Defense Department criticize us but our opponents in our states and in our Congressional district back home will say: "When you voted to cut back the appropriation, you voted to weaken the preparedness program of the United States."

Thus, even Fulbright, who faces a troublesome challenge in the Arkansas Democratic primary, will fight to cut research and then wind up voting for the total procurement package. Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield (Mont.) cast one of three dissenting votes against the procurement authorization when it passed the Senate in April by a lopsided vote. It was his way of protesting "the wasted billions which I believe are embodied in this measure."

There is no doubt that much of the responsibility for the Pentagon's growing social research program falls on the Congress, which is prodigal when voting research money for Defense and skinflint when supplying funds for other research. A bill to create a National Social Science Foundation, with federal support of $20 million a year, is still languishing in the Senate Government Operations Committee more than a year after Sen. Fred Harris (D., Okla.) and twenty other Senators introduced it.

The Senate could begin to correct this curious double-standard bookkeeping before the month is out. Thanks to Senator Fulbright and a few of the legislators who share his views, the Senators now have enough facts. It remains to be seen how much courage they have.

TITO DIGS THE STUDENTS

CAREY McWILLIAMS

Belgrade

Now that the tumult and the shouting have subsided—for the time being at least—it is possible to take a closer look at the week-long student protests which erupted here on June 2.

The Belgrade demonstrations were triggered by a relatively insignificant incident. An out-of-doors combination jazz concert and variety show had been scheduled for the evening of June 2, a Sunday. It had been planned primarily for the entertainment of "brigade workers," a young people's volunteer work corps, then engaged on a construction project near one of the student centers. At the last moment, because of bad weather, the concert was held indoors and, since seating facilities were limited, university students were not admitted. Very much annoyed, a crowd of students gathered outside and began to throw rocks at the concert hall; soon brigade workers and students were mixing it up in a lively fashion and the police were summoned. The next day the students staged a huge demonstration in the center of the city which was marked by considerable police brutality and a large number of arrests. But student-faculty action committees promptly took charge and the protests then assumed the form of more or less continuous talkathons in the several schools or "faculties," as they are called, of the university. At these sessions, the immediate issue—police brutality—was soon forgotten and the discussion ranged far and wide. The sessions were quite orderly; there were no further disturbances, but classes did not meet that week.

Then on June 9 Tito addressed the nation on television—the first time he has used television for an address of this sort. A real tour de force, the address was entirely conciliatory. Tito readily acknowledged the existence of legitimate grievances, promised that they would receive prompt attention, and conceded that the regime had for too long neglected student and university affairs. Appar-

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ently he had decided to use the demonstrations, which by then had received strong support from other university centers, from intellectuals and various groups—even the brigade workers sent a message of solidarity!—as a means of resuming his attack on conservative elements in the party. This campaign had been stalemated since July, 1966, when Alexander Rankovic, a former close ally and rumored successor, had been ousted. Prior to Tito's address, the Belgrade and Serbian authorities, including the police and the news media, had been hostile to the demonstrations. But after he had spoken, these elements promptly got into line. Although a handful of political dissidents had tried to exploit the demonstrations for their own ends, the students had made it clear, from the beginning, that they were not attacking the regime but were merely prodding it to make good on the reforms it had promised. Their demands had strong backing not merely from the faculty, including professors who have been critical of the regime from an orthodox Marxist point of view, but from many elements who were pleased to hear such demands voiced. Tito's address was hailed by the students as vindication of the protests; classes were resumed and final examinations proceeded on schedule. But while Tito's speech was politically astute—his reflexes are still quick and sure despite his 77 years—the basic issues have not been resolved and a second round of protests may well take place in the fall when the new term commences.

The formal demands of the students that emerged from the week-long sessions, and the response to these demands by the Central Committee, state the issues but do not get at the underlying causes. One of the editors of *NIN* suggested to me that these causes were primarily sociological in character, which is true—up to a point.

In the upsurge of national pride and aspiration in the postwar period, the Yugoslavs determined to have a university and college system second to none. Today the country ranks well toward the top of the list of nations in terms of the number of students enrolled considered as a percentage of total population. This remarkable expansion was not carefully planned. Little thought was given to the type of skills needed at this stage of the nation's development. For example, in terms of national needs, too many architects were graduated and not enough engineers and agronomists. To make matters worse, the expansion was superimposed on an archaic university structure jealously guarded by the usual academic vested interests. Age-old disciplines were emphasized; faculty salaries were low; classes were too large. Organizationally Belgrade University is a hodgepodge. Various schools or "faculties" are scattered about the city, each faculty being more or less autonomous. A discipline such as mathematics is represented not in a Department of Mathematics but by assignment of professors to the various schools or faculties. With approximately 40,000 students, many of them nonresidents, inefficient organization was a cause of mounting friction and dissatisfaction. The university has what is called a Student Town in which many of the poorest out-of-town students live. Officially it is supposed to accommodate about 8,000 students but 12,000 would be a more realistic estimate of the number actually living there. Students and nonstudents arrive in Belgrade, cannot find accommodations, and simply move in with students they know who have been admitted to Student Town. Such conditions make for a high level of general confusion and dissatisfaction. Then too, students have been given only a peripheral role in university organization and administration. In brief, an explosive situation had been building up for quite some time. The regime admits that it had neglected students and university affairs largely because of the pressure of what seemed to be more urgent matters. More particularly, the regime concedes that it had lost touch politically with student opinion. But at several meetings this past spring, speakers had stressed the need for university reform and more attention to student problems. In fact the Central Committee had been studying these matters before the protests occurred, and one of Tito's criticisms was that the party had not sufficiently publicized the fact that such studies were being made.

At this level, therefore, the primary causes of the protests were sociological: a greatly enlarged student population, archaic university structures, and a failure to reexamine the aims and purposes of university education in the context of present-day Yugoslav conditions. But these causes have economic and political aspects. For one thing, the regime has not been able to provide adequate occupational and career opportunities for university graduates. Many (an estimated 70,000) of those who have received professional training have emigrated, not merely because better opportunities existed abroad but because, in many categories, there was little hope of immediate employment in Yugoslavia.

The general lack of occupational and career opportunities has an added sociological-political dimension which is itself a basic cause of student unrest. There is no room at the top or, as the students put it, there is a "block at the top." The undereducated bureaucrat who had a fine record as a partisan is not eager to retire in order to make way for a much better trained university graduate and, besides, he has friends and connections. A particular "self-management council" may be well aware that the aging partisan veteran should be replaced, but how is this to be done unless some other place can be found for him? Students feel that they are better prepared than many of those who now hold what are regarded as good positions; on the basis of merit, in terms of social efficiency, they feel that many of these "political" appointees, who have grown fat and complacent, should be removed, retired or reassigned. They do not object to high salaries; they object to the deadwood which is too often found in the upper reaches of the bureaucracies.

This general state of affairs is aggravated by other factors—for example, the generation gap. The older generation likes to indulge in memories of heroic wartime adventures. Today's students have little remembrance of the struggles of the partisan period; they are more concerned with the present and the future than with the glorious past. To many of them the struggle with Stalin is about as real as the depression is to most American university students. Here, too, a special irritant may be noted. Yugoslav educators did not revise the line of political instruction after 1948 so that many of today's students have been instructed

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in orthodox Marxist principles, not the revisionist variety. Many of them are more Marxist than the party Marxists; they take the promises of the revolution quite literally and see no reason why these promises should not be fulfilled here and now.

But it is much easier to define the causes of student unrest than to find solutions, for the regime is caught in a basic contradiction. Like the other East European countries, Yugoslavia must expand its trade if the economy is to expand. Since the early 1960s a major objective has been to make Yugoslav prices competitive on world markets. This means increased productivity, lower costs, greater operating efficiency and, eventually, convertibility. In a sense, today's unemployment and underemployment are consequences of these policy objectives. It is difficult to estimate how much unemployment exists since officials concede that the volume is greater than government statistics indicate. Of a population, say, of 20 million, Yugoslavia had a total of 3,560,000 gainfully employed in May, 1967, and estimates of 260,000 unemployed; but the unemployed figures rose to 338,000 in March, 1968, and to 350,000 in May, 1968 (these are official figures). But only those persons are counted as unemployed who had a job but are presently without one. The estimates do not include university graduates who have never held a job. Nor do they include the more than 350,000 Yugoslavs who are now working abroad—in West Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Sweden (notably in the Volvo plant), and other countries. For the time being the regime looks with favor on such employment as a stop-gap "safety valve"; many of these workers are learning important industrial skills and they transmit, as a group, large sums to relatives in Yugoslavia (the families remain at home). But since they are not immigrants but merely temporary residents of the countries where they are employed, it is assumed that they will return at some future date and that, when they do, jobs will have to be found for them. Nor do the official estimates of unemployment take into consideration the number of peasants who would like to take jobs in the cities if jobs were available. In prewar Yugoslavia the rural-urban ratio was 90 to 10; today it is approximately 50-50. The regime does not encourage rural-to-urban migration but, under a free labor policy, it cannot prevent it.

The Belgrade economists and social planners contend that it would be relatively easy to deal with unemployment if the regime could afford to change or modify present policy objectives. They argue that a closed Socialist society —that is, a society with strong centralized planning and controls—can simply create jobs by directing various state agencies and enterprises to add more workers. But in Yugoslavia the regime stresses decentralization and self-management. The self-management councils are eager to make a good record; they seek to increase productivity and minimize costs. Since this is exactly what the regime has directed them to do, it cannot ask them to add unneeded workers. Then, too, the self-management councils want to protect the interests of their members; adding new employees might increase competition within the council or disturb vested interests or reduce earnings.

There is, of course, a great need for public works but —so the planners say—the kinds of projects most needed involve the expenditure of relatively large sums for materials and equipment, much of which would have to be purchased abroad. And the benefits to be derived from these projects might be long deferred. Most officials agree that the best prospects for increased employment, consistent with present policy objectives, would be to pension older, less skilled workers and replace them with younger, better trained personnel; expand employment in the tertiary categories, services, trade, etc.; assist more workers to seek stop-gap employment abroad; and, finally, encourage foreign investment under laws recently adopted with this aim in mind. In the end, one is told, adherence to present economic policies will make it possible to expand employment opportunities to meet present needs. For the time being, however, the regime is caught in a short-term contradiction: it cannot deal adequately with existing unemployment and underemployment and at the same time pursue present policy objectives. No doubt the regime intends to cope with student demands for adequate job and career opportunities but will it be able to realize these goals soon enough to reduce existing tensions?

The student demand for the elimination of inequities—favoritism and the like—is, in a way, related to the issue of unemployment. When an educated elite is denied adequate career opportunities, it will naturally magnify existing inequalities. In many of the week-long meetings, students would cite examples of how this person or that had made enormous sums through illicit means. Stories were told of men who had somehow managed to acquire "a hundred trucks," etc. A recurrent charge was that the relaxation of travel restrictions—passports can be obtained from any travel agency—had made it possible to import goods which were then sold on the local market for exorbitant profits.

No doubt there is a measure of truth in these charges. But there is also little doubt that many of them are exaggerated. In certain sessions, faculty members were able to demonstrate that stories of great profits could not be reconciled with the facts recited. Favoritism and corruption exist. The lack of strong centralized controls creates opportunities for all kinds of conniving and finagling. But, say the planners, a systematic effort to eliminate such abuses would require reimposition of strong centralized controls and an end to the relative "openness" which exists today. And it would not be easy to reimpose tight controls; once started the trend toward an open society is difficult to reverse. In Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia the danger is not so much that relaxation of controls will create openings for "bourgeois" tendencies to surface as it is that a failure to make the reforms work may give the orthodox hard-line Marxists a chance to return to power.

On balance it is perhaps a good thing that the student protests occurred when they did, shortly before the examination period, for it gives the regime an opportunity to speed up implementation of promised reforms before the new term begins. But it will not be easy to abate student unrest for it requires, as Tito has said, "a faster and more resolute settlement of a large number of burning

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questions," few of which are directly related to university administration. In addition, one gets the feeling that the regime does not fully appreciate the magnitude of the task of university reform and reorganization that confronts it. Because the causes are so deep-seated, the last word has not been heard on student unrest in Yugoslavia; a second round is clearly foreseeable.

In an interview, D. Belovski, Assistant Secretary of Foreign Affairs, stressed the point that Yugoslavs want outsiders to take conditions as they find them, the failures as well as the successes, the unsolved problems as well as the quite solid achievements. And this seems to be the prevailing attitude. Little effort is made to minimize existing problems or to offer alibis for mistakes or shortcomings. This realism is a good omen. So, too, is the fact that through the student protests some of the country's more urgent problems have received a thorough airing and the discussion of them has by no means abated.

Despite a readily acknowledged agenda of unsolved problems, the regime has many significant achievements to its credit. It is a force for stability in the Middle East. It pursues an astute and even-handed foreign policy. It has achieved a substantial measure of national unity under extremely difficult circumstances. A genuine "openness" does exist. The week-long discussions are proof of that. By East European standards, the stores are well stocked with consumer goods in most categories and the supply seems to be increasing. I found it difficult to take the self-management councils at full face value; concept and practice seem somewhat divergent. But the new arrangements seem to be working reasonably well. Considering its bloody and complex history, its ethnic diversity, and the fact that it is still a poor country, one is impressed with the measure of economic well-being and political stability that Yugoslavia has achieved in the postwar period. A good measure of the latter is to be found in the fact that the regime did not feel it necessary to move against the student protests but accepted them as justified. The protests were unexpected but the regime did not crack down. It permitted the discussions to run their course. It may have been out of touch with student sentiment but it was not isolated. It knew it had popular support in the universities as the response of the students to Tito's address clearly demonstrates. Other regimes, in countries with long-established democratic traditions, have shown far less maturity and confidence in dealing with student protests.

HARRY GOLDEN

ON June 15, George Wallace, ex-Governor of Alabama, read the platform on which he wants to run for President to a cheering crowd of 7,500 in the Coliseum at Charlotte. He came to North Carolina to lend impetus to an organization dedicated to obtaining the signatures he needs on petitions for his inclusion on the November ballot. "The federal government," shouted Wallace, "is usurping the rights of the individual citizens." He described the newly passed Open Housing Act as one which puts people in jail if they sell or rent their houses to people they like. Mr. Wallace asked rhetorically what the law had to do with discrimination, which was personal preference.

Mr. Wallace is talking to people who are not used to wearing neckties or reading the texts of federal laws. For that matter they aren't used to reading newspapers either. To prove that he's not a racist he said in reverent tones that his deceased wife, Lurleen, polled more Negro votes in the gubernatorial race than both of her opponents put together. He neglected to mention that Lurleen, a woman, couldn't "holler nigger" as loudly as the two men could holler. Neither did Wallace bother to inform his enthusiastic audience that Alabama is as much a federal preserve as Yellowstone National Park. Alabama draws $4 billion every year from the United States Government in the form of farm subsidies, Social Security, pensions, Area Redevelopment Administration funds, Army posts, a space center at Huntsville, and welfare assistance. What Wallace did remind his audience was that the federal government is too big.

He drew loud hurrahs when he accused "pointed-headed professors who can't park their bicycles straight" of favoring communism. If elected, he promised to seek indictment of all professors who support a Communist victory in Vietnam. Wallace is referring directly to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill where controversy over our involvement in Vietnam has been aired for the past two years.

"I couldn't care less what schools you have," said Wallace, "when I am President I shall turn back complete control of the schools to you." This was simply a reminder of the infamous compromise of 1877 when Hayes took the office of President from Tilden who had won the popular vote. To secure the Presidency the Republicans returned the education and the life of the recently enfranchised Negroes back to the states. The audience knew exactly what Wallace meant.

Before the speech the candidate entertained several hundred guests at the fund-raising dinner held in the Heart of Charlotte Motel. Invitations cost $25.

Wallace is not going to become President but he is going to campaign. He would have campaigned in 1964 except that his most ardent backers, real conservatives all, dissuaded him. They did not want him taking votes from Barry Goldwater. This time his backers are urging him on. I rather suspect that, in North Carolina at any

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rate, he will get more Republican votes than Democratic. But maybe that is what George Wallace and his financial backers want.

There is a significance to his campaign and his willingness to exploit the fears and confusions of Americans today. His performance is professional and adept. He is a master at exploiting unease. There is no doubt that he will complicate the 1968 campaign and increase domestic tension. The *Charlotte Observer* commented: "This country has coped with spellbinders before. The country will cope with George Wallace."

Incidentally Wallace, in his Charlotte appearance, was guarded by twenty secret service men, as well as a cordon of police.

LETTERS *(Continued from page 34)*

very university involved. But naturally, I am pleased to set the record straight and even more pleased that the severity of the problems discussed in my column is, if only to this extent, less than I had feared.

As for various other allegations in the Buffalo document —notably interpretations of implication (such as that attempts at serious critical evaluation constitute "attack") and imputations of motive (such as that such critical remarks are made about something only to promote something else or to vent assorted geographical spleens)— aside from their purely *ad hominem* aspect, and that they do not appear to bear on any of the substantive issues I discussed or even to be intelligibly inferrable from anything I did say, they seem so obviously subject to Mr. Foss's own "advice" that it seems counterproductive for me to attempt to add any further admonitions of my own.

Benjamin Boretz

where it's at

Springfield, Mo.

DEAR SIRS: Re John Gabree's interesting article on rock music ("Serious Rock," *The Nation,* June 24): in my opinion the Mothers of Invention are less "Brechtian" than sophomoric with their indiscriminate and unrelieved satirizing of second-level clichés (a kind of adolescently arrogant, put-on "wit" concerning people, ideas and music). I agree with Mr. Gabree that the Buffalo Springfield is a decent group, but I must dispute his estimate of the Electric Prunes's *Mass in F Minor* as a lemon, by stating that it is actually a plum of lovely, properly both groovey and reverent, entirely tasteful (in the best sense) and moving music.

And the Beatles, as I believe even the youngest rock musicians know, along with being "innocent" and "good-humored" not only remain where it's really at but continue with their remarkable synthesizing and creative power to invent and define and to indicate where it's going. As far as I can tell, they are always on the point of the *avant-garde.*

Bernard Frederick Juul

rationality rampant

Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR SIRS: Michel Crozier's article "The Lonely Frontier of Reason" (*The Nation,* May 27) contains a fundamental flaw that causes him to miss both the point of the protest movement and the meaning of the "problem of America." He fails to see the crucial distinction between the application of reason to special problems and part processes and the question of the values that direct the whole. The dichotomy between the "rational" American Establishment and the protest movement of people in quest of "spontaneity" is a false one. The vast bulk of protesters in America are reacting against the use of reason and power for purposes of individual and national aggrandizement and domination, not against rationality per se. They are not objecting to the application of rationality in constructing an anti-missile system; they don't like the value system reflected in such a choice. And although America is feared for its competitive power in business in various parts of the world, it constitutes a major "problem" because the rationality and efficiency of its parts are contributing to the power of a machine that is clearly out of control.

Edward S. Herman

joiners

New York City.

DEAR SIRS: After the June 4 dual graduation ceremonies at Columbia, I noticed a group of rather plainly dressed men standing around, each person wearing a four-colored square enamel pin in his left lapel. When I asked what the insignia stood for, one man told me: "It's the Square Club—a branch of the Masons." Others told me they were members of the Columbia faculty; when pressed to specify which department the lapel pin indicated one said he couldn't reveal that information because it was secret. May I suggest that the Masons and the Columbia faculty either acknowledge these members or else investigate the unauthorized use of their names by the police department?

Eve Merriam

footnote review

College Point, Md .

DEAR SIRS: H. R. Wolf ought to be congratulated for his lengthly analysis of a footnote I wrote [see "An Uneasy Alliance," *The Nation,* June 24); it may very well represent an innovation in the style of critical writing. But there is one defect. If Mr. Wolf is going to review footnotes, he ought to do them in their entirety. I include the second half of my remarks on the CIA and intellectuals to clarify what I actually said about the issue:

> Moreover, the discussion of intellectuals (to extend and broaden the problem) and their participation in government institutions belongs in another place and perhaps in different hands. The issue goes well beyond the C.I.A. and any conscious or unconscious acceptance of its stipends. Men and their ideas must be considered for what they are and what they mean, not for who pays their bills. Views are most often engendered historically, and only very rarely may we catch them wearing a price tag. The important thing is that a good many intellectuals and America's leading spy agency came to the same conclusions at much the same time about America's role in world society. That event is fraught enough with historical questions to keep historians away from the pitfalls of easy explanations for a long time.

Finally, if Mr. Wolf plans to repeat his new style of reviewing books, he ought to refresh himself on the use of footnotes: (1) to clarify or identify sources; (2) to include material not sufficiently important to place in the body of a book. For any second thoughts I may have had about what I wrote, I refer him to my preface.

James Gilbert

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Liberation—Not Frustration

LOOK OUT, WHITEY! BLACK POWER'S GON' GET YOUR MAMA. *By Julius Lester. The Dial Press. 152 pp. $3.95.*

NAT HENTOFF
Mr. Hentoff's most recent novel, Onwards! *(Simon & Schuster), was published this spring. His other books include* The New Equality *and* Call the Keeper *(both Viking Press).*

In the summer of 1966, the television cameras came in pore-close on Stokely Carmichael as he roared the call, "Black Power!" It was more effective than air conditioning in the nation's (white) living rooms. *The New York Times* was appalled. Roy Wilkins was grim: "Black Power can mean in the end only black death." Two years later, the *Times* editorializes about "constructive" Black Power. Whitney Young announces a program to build "ghetto power." Roy Wilkins still doesn't understand, but then he could never see what the war in Vietnam had to do with domestic poverty and powerlessness. Wilkins aside, Black Power as a term has become rather respectable. Even Richard Nixon uses it. Look out, SNCC and all other brothers! The next President may take "We Shall Overcome" out of his inaugural address and put in "Black Power" instead.

The substance of Black Power, however, is still obscure, I expect, to most whites. Why are black high school kids organizing to change curricula and boot out principals and teachers? Why are black parents so immovably set on community control of schools? What is all this talk about whites being "culturally disadvantaged"? And why does "Integration Now!" sound so bizarrely dated?

For those who don't comprehend the extraordinary sense of community rising among blacks—a swirling ferment of pride, increasingly disciplined rage, and very concrete programs from neighborhood corporations to community schools—Julius Lester's book should finally make it all clear to just about anybody. Now 29, a field secretary for SNCC, a photographer, a singer (with two powerful but oddly hidden albums for Vanguard), Lester writes with spare, idiomatic directness—angry, jaunty, sure of himself and of what has to be done. It is a book that ought to be the basis for a whole year's work in every high school in the country, black, white, Puerto Rican, Mexican. It won't be, except in a few rooms with young teachers now coming in to radicalize the system, and except in the first of the community schools. But the book will get around, more widely and rapidly than Fanon's, because it is so specifically relevant to where this country has been and to what the options are now.

Lester describes the change in The Movement from a Friendship Contest to a War of Liberation, explaining in the process that "Black Power was merely the next step in a logical progression, not the outpouring of frustration that the press tried to make us believe when they couldn't explain it away. It was new in the context of 'the movement' of the 1960's. It was not new in the context of the lives of the black people." There follows a scouring review of black American history that includes what might be called a corrective to William Styron. Quoting from Vincent Harding's yet unpublished essay, "Black Radicalism in America," Lester should, I hope, shake up those reviewers who were so quick to swallow Styron's soggily written fantasies whole: " . . . what of others who led no rebellions, who marched to no Jerusalems, but who nevertheless broke pointedly and sharply with the patterns they were called upon to live? Should the poisoning of the masters' food be classified as black radicalism? What of the burning of their barns? How shall one judge the many black mothers who smothered their own children in infancy rather than allow them to grow up as slaves? Were they black radicals who, instead of slashing at their masters, cut off their own fingers and arms? Was it black radicalism that led many persons to commit suicide rather than kill or live as slaves?"

There's more history in this book that has yet to be taught in most schools—the insistence, for example, of the Abolitionists that they knew better than Frederick Douglass and other blacks how to direct the latter's fight for their own liberation. (Or, as Lester puts it, " 'White folks know better than niggers.'—White folks' saying, circa 1619-1968.") That history does go on into the present: "Whites can never be accepted as allies with blacks until they get rid of that arrogance which leads them to think that they are greater authorities on blacks than are blacks themselves, until they stop going to the Daniel Moynihans to learn about blacks, but come to the ghetto to learn for themselves. (We'd prefer to send them letters, however.)"

Along with history, Lester focuses on cultural nationalism and black consciousness. It's a sketchy section, but gets to the roots and can be supplemented with LeRoi Jones's *Blues People* and *Black Music* (William Morrow). I remember Whitney Young a few years ago telling black parents they ought to uplift their children with Bach and ballet because blues and boogie-woogie, he went on, weren't the way UP. Whitney Young ain't talking like that no more,

For whites, and especially young whites, there will be one chronic question as they read the book. Are we honkies too? Lester's answer is similar to Eldridge Cleaver's in *Soul on Ice* (McGraw-Hill). It depends on you. "Black Power," he writes, "is not anti-white people, but is anti anything and everything that serves to oppress. If whites align themselves on

LANDLORD

We rented here.
The only house
Was the village madman's,

Very cheap.
Being strangers,
We tried not hearing what

The neighbors told:
Locked up tight
For fulfilling a few town maids,

He never came around.
We used the place,
And one day

In a seethe of July dust, all
Tags and tears, the town
Dogs in a fury at

His heels, we found him
Grinning at the door,
As we discovered we

Had often feared.
"Welcome!" *he said.*
It appeared

We were from the very first
Not far from his thoughts,
Never wholly absent from his heart.

JOHN ENGELS

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the side of oppression, then Black Power must be antiwhite. That, however, is not the decision of Black Power."

The testing ground for the white young now in dissent and rebellion is whether they remain radical as they move into their 30s and beyond. Radical in the sense that William Sloane Coffin uses the term—the liberal feels other people are in trouble; the radical knows he's in trouble too. If they can remain free of the auto-anesthesia of their liberal elders, there may be possibilities for alliances with blacks for particular goals. But even then, Lester concludes, "we will always want to preserve our ethnicity, our community. We are a distinct cultural group, proud of our culture and our institutions, and simply want to be left alone to lead our good, black lives."

Can they preserve their ethnicity and culture in a country set up—from schools to other complexes—to erase authentic differences? It's going to be a hell of a good try, because Black Power and Black Consciousness are the only ways to their survival, both in the denotative and other senses.

The Evidence of Their Lives

INDIAN ART IN SOUTH AMERICA. *By Frederick J. Dockstader. Photography by Carmelo Guadagno. New York Graphic Society. 222 pp. 250 plates. $27.50.*

D'ARCY McNICKLE

Mr. McNickle is a member of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai tribes of Montana. He is a professor of anthropology at the University of Saskatchewan, Regina Campus.

In this companion volume to two earlier publications, *Indian Art in America* and *Indian Art in Middle America,* Dr. Dockstader completes a notable survey of aboriginal art forms in the Western Hemisphere. As director of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, the author had full access to the magnificent treasures of that institution and most of the material in these volumes is drawn from that source. This may have been an embarrassment as much as an advantage because of the very volume of material from which to choose.

The complex civilizations that matured in South America are virtually unknown, except for the Andean region ruled over by the Incas at the time of the Spanish conquest. The present collection is accordingly an attempt to acquaint the reader with as broad a spectrum as possible, within available materials, of the indigenous art expression of the southern continent. The aim is laudable, even though it produces an uneven document, with some materials perhaps included only because they are representative of a region or a culture, while some of the richest cultures are scanted in favor of these less exciting but regionally important forms. This results in understating the case for indigenous art, and in this respect the collection is somewhat of a disappointment. The two earlier volumes are more consistent in evoking a high level of wonder and delight.

What is really remarkable about this or any similar collection is that any of these specimens should have survived. Indian art, like so many other aspects of native culture, suffered heavily at the hands of hostile, uncomprehending or merely avaricious white men. A Bishop Landa in Yucatan destroyed temples and stone carvings and burned an entire library of Mayan manuscripts—in the name of the Holy Inquisition. The few manuscripts surviving this holocaust are in European libraries, not in the land which produced them. In Panama a single grave site plundered by a troop of Spanish explorers yielded a variety of gold ornaments weighing altogether 355 pounds. Dockstader reports that the ransom paid in gold and silver for the release of Atahualpa, the last Inca ruler, was of such quantity that the Spaniards were occupied for a month in melting the treasure into solid bars. After which Atahualpa was executed as a nonbeliever.

Such plundering still occurs, even though most American republics now have laws protecting their antiquities. Private collectors, as well as respectable museums, will purchase whatever comes on the market, however it was initially obtained. What is regretted in these transactions is the indifference and ignorance of the pot hunter who, by removing articles of material culture, reduces the evidence for the context in which the first Americans fashioned their lives.

The present volume offers a sympathetic if very brief summary of the prehistory of South America, the beginnings of which go back at least to 14,920 B.C., according to one established Carbon-14 date, and may eventually be extended to 25,000 B.C. The chronology will not be fixed with any certitude until a great deal more has been learned from systematic archaeological investigation, not in South America alone but along the entire route of migration from northeast Asia down through the American continents. Much of what is now known is derived from the intensive study of a comparatively few regions or individual sites, usually the dramatic classical monuments. For every such major center, there are thousands of traces buried in desert or jungle, observed and reported casually but never dug out, for lack of time, money or interest. They are not likely to contain desirable collectors' loot. The ultimate story of America lies buried in these lonely sites.

Dockstader limits his purview to examples of ceramics, weaving and metalwork, in all of which the South American native craftsman was pre-eminent. Pottery may be the oldest of these arts, or it may be only that pottery survives the elements better than weaving. A pottery-making culture existed in northern Colombia (Puerto Hormiga) by 3100 B.C. and in Ecuador (Valdivia) at about the same time, yet cultivated cotton appears in the archaeological record of central Peru as early as 3600 B.C. Fibrous mats and cotton fish nets may have been made in this earlier period. By 3000 B.C. on the southern coast of Peru (Paracas Peninsula) objects interred with the dead included twine-woven cloth, nets and textile bags. In time, the art of weaving achieved a technological brilliance and beauty of design unsurpassed anywhere in the ancient world. Every type of weave was known and produced on a simple heddle loom, from the most delicate figured gauzes to rich tapestries and embroideries. Specimens have been recovered in which a thread count of 250 to the inch allowed the weaver to execute exceedingly fine design details.

The development of ceramics was equally impressive. The author comments that the florescence of the Mochica culture in northern Peru (about 200 B.C.) resulted in "an art form that includes some of the finest plastic sculpture in the history of ceramics. The smoothly finished, carefully modeled vessels are particularly intriguing for their reflection of everyday life, making them veritable esthetic documents."

The Mochica craftsmen, moreover, may have been among the New World's earliest erotic artists, as many of their clay vessels depict in line drawing and plastic modeling lively scenes of sexual activity.

The last of the arts to develop was metallurgy, and the greatest craftsmanship seems to have been achieved in Colombia, where gold work was unrivaled. Dockstader observes: "Today it astonishes us to realize that not only did these ancient craftsmen understand the many forms of casting (including the *cire-perdue* process), *mise-en-couleur,* soldering, inlay, and related techniques, but were able to achieve heat sufficient to cast platinum, whose melting point of

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3191 degrees Fahrenheit makes it among the hardest metals to fashion. . . . The very few examples of metallurgy which escaped the melting pot amply support their reputation as the finest goldworkers of ancient America."

These arts did not exist in isolation as individual expressions of a craft worker, but they were rather associated with and grew out of communities of people that had developed into incipient civilizations by as early as 1800 B.C. By that date massive pyramids and temples were being constructed, with details of architectural sculpture. The author omits these basic features of cultural adaptation and growth, and so makes it difficult to evaluate his claim that "the Inca Empire of 1525 was at a more advanced stage of civilization than the nation that Francisco Pizarro represented."

One would like to accept the author's judgment, but with the wish that he had supplied the evidence, if necessary, from materials not included in his museum's collections.

A Tragedy of Errors

CUBA: THE MAKING OF A REVOLUTION. *By Ramon Eduardo Ruiz. The University of Massachusetts Press. 160 pp. $6.*

THE ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION OF CUBA. *By Edward Boorstein. Monthly Review Press. 303 pp. $7.95.*

REVOLUTIONARY POLITICS AND THE CUBAN WORKING CLASS. *By Maurice Zeitlin. Princeton University Press. 306 pp. $8.50.*

RICHARD J. WALTON

Mr. Walton is the author of The Remnants of Power: The Tragic, Last Years of Adlai Stevenson, *to be published in October by Coward-McCann.*

Taken together these three books add further documentation to what has long been unmistakable: that liberal, democratic America should be deeply shamed by what it has done to Cuba both before and after the revolution.

A history professor who has taught at United States and Latin American universities, Ramon Eduardo Ruiz wrote *Cuba: The Making of a Revolution* with scholarly detachment but with a most unscholarly simplicity. This is a splendid short account of the revolutionary movements in Cuba from the struggle for independence from Spain in the 1890s to Castro's victory in 1959 that were the inevitable counterpoint to America's economic domination and political and military interventions. He makes the essential point that the Cuban Revolution was against the United States fully as much as against Batista for, as both Boorstein and Zeitlin agree, the two were economically and politically inseparable.

At the time of the revolution many of us who were instinctively for Castro hoped that the United States would offer him aid, but our hope was romantic not realistic. It was organically impossible for Castro to ask for American aid—however much he wished for and welcomed the support of individual Americans—because he realized that Cubans would never be masters in their own land until they broke their economic dependence on America. And it was just as impossible for the United States, unless it made a shattering change in a policy of economic and political colonialism of sixty years' standing, to offer aid. But if it was too much to hope for American aid, there was no rational reason for the United States to embark on the program of implacable counter-revolution that reached its peak, or nadir, at the Bay of Pigs two years later, a program that beyond its inherent wrongness hurt America in the eyes of much of the world, permanently stained the reputation of President Kennedy, and led to the nuclear brink in 1962.

Ruiz also illuminates an aspect of the Cuban Revolution that has long troubled many American liberals, even those sympathetic to Castro: his relationship with the Soviet Union and the Cuban Communists. He points out that the Soviet-American rivalry gave to Castro an opportunity that no other Cuban revolutionary had ever had. All the others, sooner or later, had to make their peace with America because Cuba could not exist without U.S. help, for there was no one else to turn to. But Castro knew that Russia would help, whether out of conviction or to embarrass the United States, and he was right.

As to welcoming the Cuban Communists into the revolution, Ruiz says that Castro had no choice there either. Although the Communists had little use for Castro during his struggle—they regarded him, not without some justice, as a bourgeois romantic—and though Castro was clearly a Martí Populist and not a

INDIAN PAINTING, PROBABLY WASCO, IN A CAVE NEAR MADRAS, OREGON

Over a trail glinting with flakes
Of half-worked arrowheads, jasper, obsidian, flint,
I follow an Indian entirely to stone.
His cave clenches itself around me,
I am the eye of the cliff come back to its socket
To spy on this hillside of animals breeding and dying
And boulders losing their balance. In the cave of my mind
Words form white like crystals,
What remains to be seen?
I twist to the light, but glare seals me in.

What remains? *Indian, the dark at the back*
Of your cave stays where you left it, and cold rock walls
Still bruise flesh upon bone: always we live
In between. I lie where you lay. Overhead
On the spalling sky, murky with soot,
An arm's length away, the elk you painted
Runs on, head down, the color of my own blood.
You made a gory sun to shine above
And over the sun strides a kind of man with a bow.
I lie and think of that hunt: man, elk, and sun,
Tracing it over and over until your paint
Seems to ooze down my fingers and wrist, and clot.
Indian, flat of your back in this cave, you
Made what I would, a prayer to your gods;
A sign to your people you were here
But left: I follow you into stone.

JAROLD RAMSEY

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Marxist, he soon realized that he needed the Communist ideology and apparatus to consolidate his victory. Here Ruiz gives a particularly useful history of the Communist movement in Cuba, citing their many achievements for the workers—and their compromises as well. "The Communists were not simply a power in labor circles. Communists, and their sympathizers, Marxists of varying hues, and socialists had played a major role in Cuban intellectual life. Not only were Communist party leaders generally 'men of intelligence, magnetism and integrity,' to quote the Commission on Cuba, but the party 'won the support of some of Cuba's outstanding intellectuals and that of a growing group of younger teachers, writers and professional people.'" It is easy to see how in the chaos that followed his march on Havana Castro needed the one organized, disciplined group in Cuba, but it is just as clear from what has happened since that Castro used the Communists more than they have been able to use him.

In *The Economic Transformation of Cuba*, Edward Boorstein, an American economist who worked at the top levels in Havana for three and a half years, tells a story that is like the early days of the New Deal but even more extravagant. At first the reader is a bit uncomfortable with the vocabulary—"American imperialism," "monopolies," etc., the familiar jargon of one side of the cold war—but here it is simply the literal truth. The first few years of the revolution were a time of wild improvisation as the economy changed radically from one utterly subservient to capitalist America 90 miles away, to a Socialist economy dependent largely on Communist countries an ocean and half a continent away. Boorstein's first-hand account makes fascinating reading. There is no way in a short review to more than hint at the changes that were necessary but, for instance, Cuban imports from the United States dropped from $577 million in 1957 to $23.7 million in 1961, to less than $1 million in 1962—an incredible turnabout.

Boorstein discusses Theodore Draper's well-known thesis that Castro betrayed the revolution, that "Castro promised one revolution and made another. The Cuban Revolution was essentially a middle-class revolution that was used to destroy the middle class." As both Ruiz and Zeitlin agree, Boorstein points out that there was no real, cohesive middle class, and he says that Castro didn't promise any particular kind of revolution, just a "revolution that would make a fundamental attack on Cuba's problems." And he points out that "a revolution must go forward," that Castro was determined to end Cuba's complete economic reliance on the United States which inevitably meant a clash. When the United States responded in 1960 by removing Cuba's sugar quota—and sugar provided about 80 per cent of Cuban exports and paid for most of its imports—it was clear that the United States meant economic warfare to crush the revolution. Castro had never intended to end trade with the United States, merely to rationalize it, but suddenly Cuba found its industry and business deprived of its American and Cuban middle-class administrators and technicians, without necessary raw materials and replacement parts, without even the knowledge of what was needed; in short, in complete collapse. Castro then had no choice but to increase the pace of nationalization and to turn even more to Eastern Europe.

Boorstein tells how Humpty Dumpty was put back together again, with dreadful mistakes and appalling waste but with marvelous ingenuity and spirit. It is a wonderful story. There is only one cavil: although the "why" of Boorstein's involvement is clear—he believes in revolution—the reader would like to know how he got involved. In the book he simply materializes in Havana without explanation.

Revolutionary Politics and the Cuban Working Class is rougher going for the general reader because it is a detailed sociological study based on a statistical analysis of 210 random interviews with Cuban workers done in 1962 by University of Wisconsin sociologist Maurice Zeitlin and his wife. There are scores of tables analyzing workers' attitudes toward the revolution on the basis of being skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled, by marital status, age, race, income, vocation, months of employment per year before and after the revolution, and many other categories.

Although neither a sociologist nor a pollster, I wonder if a sample of 210 is large enough for statistical purposes since when it is broken down into categories the sub-samples are tiny. For instance, in one table sixteen women are cited and percentages solemnly recorded as 62, 12 and 25, when only ten, two and four women are represented. Yet I believe that Zeitlin's sometimes unorthodox conclusions are generally sound not so much because of their statistical basis but because he is a skilled and uncommonly perceptive observer who has done staggering research—as the numerous and often long footnotes indicate—in the literature of the field. Although it seems true that such conclusions as overwhelming working-class support for the revolution are still valid, his study would have been more persuasive and possibly could have exerted some constructive influence earlier if it had been available a year or two after his three-month visit to Cuba instead of five years later.

Magic, Vision and Dream

THE UNWRITTEN SONG: Poetry of the Primitive and Traditional Peoples of the World. *Edited by Willard Trask. The Macmillan Co. Vol. I: 287 pp. $7.95. Vol. II: 316 pp. $8.95.*

OUT OF THE EARTH I SING: Poetry and Songs of Primitive Peoples of the World. *Edited by Richard Lewis. W. W. Norton & Co. 144 pp. $3.95.*

JEROME ROTHENBERG

Mr. Rothenberg is the author of a dozen books of poems and translations including the forthcoming Technicians of the Sacred *(Doubleday), an anthology of primitive and archaic poetry with modern analogues. He is currently conducting an experimental project in the translation of American Indian poetry under a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation.*

If any one thing characterizes modern poetry (obviously no *one* thing does) it is its rejection of the idea that poetry can be defined with reference to a limited number of forms or shapes-of-poems. For any who still think the position needs defending, the simplest argument might be: we do what we do because we know as much as we know. What we know is that poetry is a universal activity involving so many norms or modes, that to think of one or another as more "natural" or "evolved" or "complex" no longer makes sense. Poetry (everywhere!) is as complex and developed as language, and as varied—the implications of which any comparative linguist will easily understand.

In opening up the full range of the world's poetries past and present, linguists, anthropologists and archaeologists have in fact been the *avant-garde*'s secret (if often reluctant) allies. When Rimbaud was writing *A Season in Hell* in 1872, George Smith was presenting the first translations of the deluge sections from the Mesopotamian *Epic of Gilgamesh*. (The Assyrian tablets of the Epic had been uncovered in 1855, the year Whitman first published *Leaves of Grass*). Coincidences of this sort dramatize the natural opening up of poetic possibilities that has been taking place from two directions. By now, anyway,

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it's clear that both the *avant-garde* and the buried works of the archaic past (Babylonia, Sumeria, Egypt, Mexico, Peru, etc.) are here to stay. What may be more important (because more wide ranging if generally less known), the "primitive" and "savage" poets intuited by Blake and the official Romantics (reintuited by generations of modern poets) have turned out to be real, so real and so truly poets that the lie of the word "primitive" sticks in our throats whenever we use it.

Now, all of this has been happening in spite of the *general* unavailability of primitive poetic texts and the *generally* poor quality of the translations. It's surprising also that while the translation of primitive poetry has been carried on in a more or less organized way for more than 100 years (and for nearly that long has been watched and received by poets, etc., in a more or less *dis*organized way), no world-wide primitive anthology has appeared in English before now. On the other hand, the body of work translated and published (mostly by governmental and institutional presses) has been enormous, so that Trask's anthology, for example, includes more than 700 poems and barely scratches the surface, while my own effort (forthcoming) runs past 500 pages, with little more than a dozen duplications between us. (A modest collection of Navaho ceremonial poetry—the work of a single people—might equal in length either of our works, possibly both!)

So much for numbers.

Of the anthologies reviewed here, Trask's is unquestionably the more important. He has assembled a sizable body of work culled from the many specialized and regional collections of which I've just spoken. As a result it's possible to get a good sense of the primitive plethora without the loss of spirit of oneself turning researcher in the process. The book is very clear in its arrangement by continents and cultures, generous in presentation, and rich in "masterpieces" whose power is evident even where the translations act against it. Lewis' work, by contrast, is a "sampler," a gift book handsomely illustrated with photos of primitive art, but unfortunately dedicated to the proposition that primitive poetry is best presented in miniature, often (alas) by chopping big poems into little ones. Since Mr. Lewis is also the editor of a lovely book of poems by children, *Miracles* (Simon & Schuster), I get the uncomfortable feeling that the "good and wise" primitives are somehow seen as phylogenetic counterparts of childhood —what old Frobenius and others called "the childhood of man."

Trask offers much more to build on. What's going on in his two volumes is the demonstration of a highly complex and sophisticated art; many arts, in fact. These include techniques for composing simultaneously on several levels of perception; for freely shifting point of view; for allowing gaps in sequence that activate the hearer's mind toward a filling in of particulars; for working accurately with both small and large structures (images and concatenations of images); for referring the poem's elements back to an overriding sense of reality or surreality, often by use of the related techniques of magic, vision and dream; for working ritually with nonlinguistic components in what would today be called a *happening* or intermedia situation.

All of this is relevant, and all of it is evidenced in Trask's anthology, though the reader may need a head start or some extra digging to get at it. The editor's point of view, that of a shipwrecked humanist "in our time of decline in classical studies," is possibly the least reliable selectional tool where primitive poetry is concerned, and accounts for many dubious (i.e., trite or dull) selections in what should be an overwhelmingly exciting book. All selection makes a statement, as does all omission. The absence of sound-poems and picture-poems, the mere hinting at intermedia situations in titles or footnotes barren of detail, leave some important things unsaid. Granted that Trask may not think them *that* important, there is still a "traditionalist's" lack of perception (bordering on *de*ception) in, say, his statement about picture writing, that "in none of these exceptional cases are they" (the glyphs, etc.) "used in either the composition or the recording of verbal art products." This is simply not so, and Trask in fact misses a very exciting aspect of American Indian poetry by asserting it, apparently in defense of his book's title.

Too many of the translations in *Unwritten Song* suffer in a related way from their translators' reliance on the worn-out counters of a dead tradition. (It might be pointed out that almost none of the translators Trask uses are poets.) This results in such "poetic" jumbles as: "Head takers we, brave;/Fighters we, brave" from the Philippines; or "Sick I have lain since autumn,/Helpless I lay, as were I/My own child" from one of the greatest Netsilik Eskimo songmen; or "Woe! Woe!/Hearken ye!/We are diminished!/Woe! Woe!" from—and with apologies to—the Iroquois; or, finally, this fighting epithet from the Maori: "Fudge! I am just come up from below, O my friends!" Nor am I being half so cruel in pointing to these things (there are many more) as Trask was in printing them. The reader may be able to compensate, but that's hardly the point. Too often, anyway, he'll find it impossible to understand what's going on without compensatory footnotes (fairly rare here) or the tedium of checking back to the sources to rediscover the very interesting forms that the various translators have obscured.

Yet the book, for all its drawbacks, is very good to have. It includes many great works (some in decent enough versions), and that's at least a beginning. Where we should go from here is toward the utilization of poet power (the more *avant-garde* the better) in a common effort to put more of the work into viable form and, despite the complexities of translation, to uncover what's really there and get it into circulation. The forms we find will continue to change our minds and hearts—an ongoing process that is basic to the aims of all our *avant-gardes*. All that's needed now is a group of willing poets and a magnanimous institution, say, to foot the bill.

HOME TOWN

(from a Tlingit myth)

My uncle sets me adrift
in a box on a pine plank.

I voyage to the land
of the eagles where I
marry and grow firm.

In my suit of feathers
I fly to the Township
of Complacency
where my uncle fishes.
I seize him by the hair.
Vengeance, I say.
Aieee! my uncle cries.
His wife runs from the house,
grabs him by the ankle.

With my new wings
I pull them both aloft.
My cousin comes from
the schoolhouse, catches
the hem of her mother's dress.
Vengeance, I say.
Come down, she answers.

One by one all the people
of that wretched town
run out of their houses.
They grab each other
by ankles, knees, trousers,
shawls, dresses, fish-lines,
toes and members.

Their weight is nothing
against the strength
of my eagle's wings.
I carry them, a great chain,
out over the Bay
of Forgetfulness
and let go.

GEORGE HITCHCOCK

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The Flatulent Poet

ENDERBY. *By Anthony Burgess. W. W. Norton & Co. 412 pp. $5.95.*

ROBERT K. MORRIS
Mr. Morris, assistant professor of English at CCNY, has written a critical study of Anthony Powell (University of Pittsburgh Press), and is working presently on a collection of essays on the contemporary British novel, to be published by Southern Illinois University Press.

In slightly under a score of wildly productive and creative years, Anthony Burgess has published dozens of essays, reviews and poems; an unmusty primer on *Finnegans Wake;* a jolly, scholarly introduction and critique of the contemporary novel; and—the purest fuel for literary rockets—eleven of his own novels besides. Among the best of these are a trilogy on the sinking of the British colonial sun in Malaysia (*The Long Day Wanes*), a bawdy, Rabelaisian re-creation of Shakespeare's love life (*Nothing Like the Sun*), and a science-fiction excursion into the dark future of England, *A Clockwork Orange,* which after five years is still making it with the "now generation."

The latter, narrated by a teen-age werewolf, Alex, in groovy *nadsat*—a technico-Russo-Anglo slanguage—and stylistically a potpourri of sensuality, sensationalism and "black humor," tells of a society terrorized by roving bands of black-jacketed, chain-*cholloking* delinquents, great-grandchildren of Welfare State overkill. *A Clockwork Orange* is a philologist's dream and a Socialist's nightmare, and a grim record of what is not only a major theme with Burgess but a real moral problem of our times: the depersonalization of the individual. Burgess is sensitive—nay, hip—to the ways the Establishment deals with the outsider. But it is not that society does this, but that it fails to discriminate between the act of rebellion which is dangerous and destructive and the harmless and creative one. Reading Burgess with some care awakens the vision of an age when personal freedom may be subsumed, if not obliterated by corporate happiness.

This in a happier, but no less morally indignant and satiric vein, is the theme of *Enderby,* a two-part work about a modern, minor poet who wants nothing more than to ply his craft and art, and discovers it is about the last thing society is willing to let him do. Enderby is middle-aged, dyspeptic, and descriptively, intestinally flatulent. Like "Johnson's scrofula, Swift's scatophobia, or Keats's gallop of death-warrant blood," Enderby's gaseousness is a mark of the poetic malaise—all is not right with poets!—and his own thing, a fundamental Bronx cheer to the bourgeois.

In the course of the novel, Enderby falls prey to all the ills flesh and spirit are heir to. We first meet him, impoverished, easing his bowels and brains (he composes on the toilet), and almost immediately afterward see him running from Vesta Bainbridge, a woman journalist who first cajoles him into writing sloppy verses for a *Vogue*-type mod mag, and then into a wedding and an Italian honeymoon. Fleeing from a non-consummated marriage, from a wife who feels she can "make [him] happy by making [him] more normal and sane," Enderby, disheartened, disintegrated, dried up, submits to psychoanalysis and to a change of identity, becoming Piggy Hogg, bartender and "useful citizen." Book the second shows Hogg metamorphosed back into Enderby when poetic inspiration returns in a rush. Naturally he is harried anew. In the end, Enderby finds momentary bliss with a mysterious, nameless lady (Sybil? the embodied Muse?), but at last chooses to "live without love," facing the indeterminate future unhappy, but still free.

In one way the novel is a rich, hilarious, ultra-extravagant portrait of the artist, seen at his homely and most oracular, but it is a portrait drawn from the inside out. (Indeed, the first part of the present work was published some years back, in England, as *Inside Mr. Enderby* under the pseudonym of Joseph Kell). *Enderby* is also a portrait of an artist called Anthony Burgess, at times self-indulgent and self-conscious, but always conscientious, exacting, controlled, a show-off in the best sense of the word, who delights in language and can make it lilt, somersault, or soar at his whim. Here, for example, a musical fragment: "Mrs. Opisso the daily woman had come in, dusky, hippy, bosomy, garlicky, moustached, leering brilliantly, a wartime Gibraltarian evacuee in whose blood seethed Genoese, Portuguese Jewish, Saracen, Irish and Andalusian corpuscles . . . ." And there are countless puns, anagrams, dialects, and rhetorical convolutions, not to mention enough brilliant poems interlarding the text to make in themselves a salable volume.

But most important *Enderby* is a mellow, but not unfunny, satire on those destructive and adventitious forces society summons in order to squeeze us into conformity. The foolish, pompous Wapenshaw (psychiatry), the cloying Vesta ("romantic" love), the obsessive, nauseous Miranda Boland (raw sex), the besotted Rawcliffe (professional pander to mass culture) are nemeses not only to art but to personality, all trying in one way or another to end Enderby, cause him to entropy into a nonentity. Burgess, though, will have none of it. He has, for our time and for his generally uncharitable, almost miserly view of us, an amazing amount of faith in the individual's ability to recover, faith in the act of reconversion if not rebirth. When Alex of *A Clockwork Orange* learns to love "big brother" he stops loving Beethoven, but he doesn't love "big brother" for long. Nor does Enderby suffer long his Circean transformation as Hogg. For good or ill the rebel, says Burgess, will not be put down. Or to quote Enderby-Burgess:

> *And this very moment, this very word will be Eden,*
> *As that boy was already, or is already, in Eden,*
> *While the delicate filthy hand dabbles and dabbles*
> *But leaves the river clean, heartbreakingly clean.*

On a small but magnificent scale *Enderby* is an epic of the potential Eden within man.

Book Marks

SARA BLACKBURN

UP. *By Ronald Sukenick. The Dial Press. 330 pp. $4.95.*

Up is the funniest, most successful, and most satisfying new book that I've read in a long time. Its main character is the author himself, in a variety of guises—as nice Jewish high school boy from Brooklyn, exasperated Lower East Side tenement dweller, the brutal "hi-sweetheart" executive of his worst fantasies, author of *Up,* sometimes-hypocritical friend of his friends and, in general, participant-observer in an American culture which is as insane and chaotic as it is familiar. His book is about what it's like to be these things, but Mr. Sukenick has removed it from the stage of the novel and brought it down into the audience, which he entertains, heckles and disappears into.

MOVE! *By Joel Lieber. David McKay Co. 236 pp. $4.95.*

Move! is an ambitious but thin relative of *Up,* with its plot hung on the familiar bones of the funny-horrible business of life in New York. Mr. Lieber's passive playwright hero is about to move with his wife from one apartment to another. The mysterious Mover, in a series of semi-fantastic events, teaches him to really move—into life instead of simply

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from place to place on its periphery. The author depends a bit too much on standard film-script New York types, and forgets to really develop his hero, though he does become, at the end, a turned-on citizen of the world.

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS. *By Thomas Rogers. New American Library. 256 pp. $5.50.*

Mr. Rogers' absorbing and surprising novel is about an attractive young couple for whom America grows impossible —first in an emotional sense, and then literally when one of them, through a most logical series of circumstances, becomes an escaped convict. Its success lies in the author's ability to make us believe that his couple, who possess the most admired American attributes—he is rich, she is beautiful, and both are remarkably honest and unhung-up—behave in the admirable way they do *because* of the fact that they grew up in this country, not in spite of it. The general air of humor and warm-heartedness, plus his characters' complete lack of bitterness, and the film of irony that lies over the total presentation make this a most engaging novel.

TALK. *By Linda Rosenkrantz. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 223 pp. $4.95.*

The main character in *Talk* leaves her tape recorder on during a summer she and her friends are spending in East Hampton. The result, according to your taste, is either totally fascinating, funny, boring, annoying, or pathetic, but no combination of these—and more or less what some New York art scene people talk about during enforced vacations from their analysts. The trouble is that they are so dedicated to the frank and open expression of their feelings—mostly about sex and their relationships to one another—that they don't seem to have very many. The possibilities of the genre, however, seem endless.

LOVE AND WORK. *By Reynolds Price. Atheneum Publishers. 143 pp. $4.50.*

Mr. Price's novel about a prissy, ungiving man whose relationship with his parents has locked him into helpless isolation from his wife and his world is overcontrolled where it is meant to be spare, and prissy itself where it is meant to be dramatically low-keyed. The tautness of the style of *Love and Work* (what a beautiful title!) is attractive—since the author, at his best, writes with a disciplined lyricism that recalls the finest of James Agee's prose—but it is finally irritating because it is so unrelieved.

Nuts, Bolts and Blue Sky

WILLIAM B. ROLLINS
Mr. Rollins is a free-lance writer living at Woody Creek near Aspen.

An Aspen writer who used to sit in at the International Design Conference, held in the Colorado mountain resort each summer for eighteen years, was too bored to bother this year. "They always come to the same conclusions," she said: "Bad design is the fault of the public."

Still, from June 19 to 21, the designers—about 600 of them, including students, architects, planners, movie makers, educators and historians—marched daily to the dialogues and discords, in what another Aspenite calls "the parade of pink pants and Porsches."

Even the designers have been grumbling a little more year by year, as the discussions and lectures became more and more "preoccupied with blue-sky chat from giant intellects and universal men." The phrase about blue sky is Reyner Banham's. A London art historian, Banham was this year's program chairman. He had been to Aspen before, and was aware of the criticisms. He promised to get back to specifics.

"Unfortunately," he said, "most attempts to get designers to talk about their own professional territory founder between navel gazing and ax grinding. The discussions become as cozy-bitchy as the post-mortem on a family gathering, and just as incomprehensible to outsiders." Banham hoped to remedy the malaise of past conferences by a nuts-and-bolts approach, comparing the problems and opportunities of design in Europe and America through "solid professional discourse" between pairs of professionals. "It was a snowballing effect, this tendency to greater and greater abstraction. We [designers] became increasingly involved in sociology and politics until, at a recent conference in Montreal, two designers got up and spoke on Vietnam."

Despite Banham's buoyant beginning, the conference contained about the usual proportions of blue sky to nuts and bolts (say 10 to 1), and if Banham had known more about snowballs he might have predicted an abortive student rebellion within the conference itself. By the third day of the conference, student alienation was such that Manuel M. Mayuga of Long Beach State College, Calif., spokesman for the rebels, called for a separate meeting so that the students could organize future conferences on their own. "There is a total lack of communication in this conference," he said. "They [the older designers] are thinking only of the images they're projecting to each other. We do not want a revolt. We want to prevent a revolt. We want to communicate."

The older generation was quick to reply. "Do you think you're any different than we were ten years ago?" panelist Irving Grossman, a Toronto designer, architect and lecturer, asked Mayuga. "We were the same: iconoclastic. It's easy to drop out. But dropping in and doing something. Staying in. That's what interests me."

Panelist Peter Eisenman of New York City, architect, urban designer and teacher, told Mayuga, "You're not fighting the establishment. You're fighting yourselves. Wait until you see the inertia within your own group." Eisenman was right. Mayuga's organization meeting lacked support. The older designers, after all, encouraged the students and—perhaps—made it too easy to revolt, according to Misha Black, professor of industrial design at the Royal College of Art in London. "The gap between

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generations is unbridgeable. It is an excellent thing, an irritant, controlled agitation, antagonistic cooperation. Without it, there would be no change."

One student, searching for the protest meeting called by Mayuga, said: "I'm curious to find out what we're going to say. I don't think we have anything to say. Or probably we'll say the same thing they're saying. I don't think youth should tell adults we're going to say anything. Let them see."

The student revolt was about as successful as a plastic balloon construction, brought to be set up near the main tent by six students from San Fernando State College. The two balloons (named "Sidney") were black and white, 100 feet long, in sausage shapes. The students said they could be used for housing, but they were unable to fully inflate them. Their teacher, sprawled on the grass near the pooped piles of plastic, said, "Sidney behaved about the way we expected." So, with both students and balloons deflated, the designers got down to nuts and bolts.

David Gebhard, associate professor of art history at the University of California, said that in the United States the form of an object is more important than the function, "the package is more important than the product." According to Gebhard, the objects produced in America in the 19th and 20th centuries "were meant to be experienced in a momentary sense, like the maraschino cherry on a piece of frosting. This may be realistic," he said, "even desirable. It has created a lack of attachment to material objects."

The concern of the designer should not be with function but with symbol, Gebhard continued. He used the example of the streamlined refrigerators and irons ("They were really fast!") produced in the thirties, "an expression of the Buck Rogers phenomenon," to illustrate his contention that American design is based on commercial art symbols.

Black, Gebhard's European counterpart, said: "We see great attraction and opportunity in the vast space and uncontrolled brutality of your country. But we see also a great danger: the danger that the country will be covered with billboards, refuse, piles of used cars, bodies and machine guns; with the intellectuals cowering in corners, or at conferences."

Industrial designer Richard Latham of Chicago was more optimistic. "The 'thing culture' is choking to death on its things," he said. "We have what I call the 'Interface' problem: That's when a man has just arrived at Mach 1 in New York, had two martinis and a steak dinner; he's waiting to get on a modern underground; but at the moment, he's standing in the rain without an umbrella. That's Interface. If airplane design continues, it will be like unloading the *Queen Mary* through a porthole."

"The designer must limit the plethora of artifacts which threaten to extinguish humanity," Black agreed. He said the "thing culture" goes back at least to Emerson, who wrote, "Things are in the saddle and ride mankind."

Black based a "slight" optimism about the future on the phenomenon of the mini-skirt, "a spontaneous uprising of the skirts all over Europe and much of the world. The mini-skirt came," Black said, "not from the dictates of big fashion houses but from young people who were saying, 'let's have what we want.' "

Banham and Latham discussed design and morality. For Europeans, Banham said, a running morality of design is important. "The devil is alive," he said, "in Detroit. It is our standard assumption that all American designers have trouble with their ethics."

"The relationships [between morality and design] do not exist," Latham countered. "Ideology is a psychological rationalization that comes after the fact of design."

"We need a concept of uncertainty, choice, open-endedness," John Allpass, Danish urban planner, said. "We can get better design only by education," Eisenman added, "reacting to the environment as it is."

Jivan Tabibian, a political scientist, wrapped it up. "Ethics must be aware of alienation." He said the solution seems to be an integrated, dialectic approach that recognizes "reality in its utmost complexity, in its utmost unmanageability . . . a society which allows for a pluralism of divergent choices and actions. The only function is to discover what function is . . . to make the function of creation possible."

Banham was simpler: "Bad design is the fault of everyone."

THEATRE FOR ALL

If even the bourgeois audience "who have the money and the habit by now and the education" are so hard to win, it can be imagined that most resident-theatre directors lack the time, energy, and money to do much toward the development of new audiences from among the culturally disenfranchised. I am not the sort of bourgeois radical who gets sentimental about the workers; I see no reason to believe that their presence in the audience would suddenly transform the resident theatres into vigorous, challenging, ballsy, gutsy, independent-minded agencies for the regeneration of our society, as some people seem to think. But this is a democracy, which means that we are committed to the belief that the good things in life should be available to all. The resident theatres have already broken through the geographical barriers that isolated most Americans from the professional theatre. As non-commercial institutions pledged to the public good, and as permanent institutions (so they hope) expecting to be around long enough to be able to wage long fights and enjoy slow-coming victories, the resident theatres, and they only, are in a position to break down social barriers as well. Slowly, I think it is beginning to bother some of the people who run theatres that they have not yet done so. After all, for a theatre to become part of the community at large, and not just the avocation of a tiny majority, is the best way of assuring that it will survive.

From *Beyond Broadway: The Quest for Permanent Theatres*, by Julius Novick (Hill and Wang). A report on professional theatre throughout the country, much of which appeared originally in *The Nation*.

FILMS

ROBERT HATCH

Roman Polanski's first American film, *Rosemary's Baby*, is a chic disappointment. It is chic in its tough-casual personal relations and no-kidding dialogue and, above all, in its choice for setting of the Dakota, that turn-of-the-century apartment house inhabited by gossip-column New Yorkers who pay premium rents for anachronistic charm. It is disappointing by reason of the tedium of its slow and repetitious development and because it is a mystery story that turns out to be no mystery.

Mia Farrow and John Cassavetes play a slightly swinging young couple who move into an apartment under the expensive Central Park West turrets and set about producing a baby (the documentation of their moves toward that end is part of the chic). This project requires the better part of a year, and the roles assigned to Miss Farrow and Mr. Cassavetes are not vivid or complicated enough to stretch from conception to birth.

All the color and vitality are bestowed on an elderly couple next door, played by Sidney Blackmer and, with partic-

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ularly staccato eccentricity, by Ruth Gordon. These two take a cloying interest in the impending "event," suggesting a suitable obstetrician and administering enigmatic herbal drinks; and from a variety of oddities and coincidences the expectant mother becomes obsessed with the notion that they are witches, intent on harming her child. Being pregnant and therefore not as clear-minded as usual, she gets it slightly wrong: supported by a modern coven that looks like a convention of retired retail clerks, and with the assistance of the young husband (made complaisant by Faustian rewards), the sweetly sinister couple have arranged that the unfortunate woman should be impregnated by Beelzebub himself. They are quite beside themselves awaiting the arrival of a new little prince of darkness. That is the no mystery—you hang around for almost two hours to discover what is behind all the seeming devil worship, only to discover that it is devil worship. It won't wash: for the purpose of a good whodunit, I am willing to play along with smuggled imperial jewels, Sicilian vendettas, missing heirs and political infiltrators; but I do not go home in a very content mood on being told that Satan has been having an extra-marital fling at the Dakota. To paraphrase an old complaint, life these days is full enough of flummery, without paying good money to see more of it in the theatre.

One obstetrical note: a woman has a miserable time carrying the Devil's spawn. Miss Farrow wastes away, turns greenish white, and suffers a steady, excruciating pain in the abdomen. This struck the audience as funny, and it occurs to me that if Mr. Polanski's purpose in making this unusually pointless picture is to tell us that ours is a hell of a country, he must get some satisfaction from these callous giggles.

François Truffaut is an admirer of Alfred Hitchcock, and the chances are that he made *The Bride Wore Black* as a tribute to the old master. It is a tale of revenge with a vengeance: a girl's husband is shot dead as they step arm in arm out of the cathedral after their wedding ceremony (it is typical of Truffaut that the groom is shown falling dead at his bride's feet in a half dozen or more almost identical "takes"), and she dedicates her years of unassuaged mourning to tracking down and ingeniously killing the five men who were present (except for one of them, they were hardly implicated) at the time of the shooting. The picture displays Hitchcock's superb clarity of incident, but lacks the foxiness of his guessing games. The thumbnail sketches of the victims—Jeanne Moreau, the nemesis, plays herself as usual—are Truffaut inventions, more entertaining and a good deal more ironic than the Englishman can achieve, but the picture lacks Hitchcock's wild plausibility. His machines are often built from blueprints of berserk complexity; but, fueled with a tolerable amount of credulity, they run. It is asking too much, I think, to propose that a young woman, however implacable and resourceful, can improvise a succession of bizarre murders, in only one of which does she arrive on the scene equipped with a deadly weapon. People don't cooperate that enthusiastically in their own liquidation.

However, Truffaut is essentially a leg puller, not a mystifier, and he has a right to make his own kind of picture in the Hitchcock manner. You will enjoy Mlle. Moreau as Diana the Huntress in the lecherous artist's studio. Indeed, Mlle. Moreau, who from her last few films has become the most lethal female in the French cinema, is a treat throughout. Working from her basic pose of heavy-lipped petulance, she shifts with incredible dexterity into facsimiles of seductive promise, ethereal fragility, healthy practicality, vacuous innocence, or whatever else the occasion requires. She obviously believes no more in what she is doing than a barker believes his spiel, but she delivers with the bull's-eye accuracy of a punch-card computer. I liked her more in the days when she acted, but the present technical display has its own excitement.

THEATRE

ROBERT PASOLLI

Roger Planchon's Théâtre de la Cité is the most prestigious of the many provincial theatre companies in France; indeed, it brushes against the firmament occupied by the Comédie Française, the Théâtre de France and the Théâtre National Populaire, the star companies of Paris. However, the Théâtre de la Cité is associated not with the intelligentsia and the *beau monde* but with the workers who populate its locality of Villeurbanne on the edge of Lyon. Planchon has made it his program to woo this segment of the population, which he calls the "non-public," with productions designed to appeal to their temperament and their concerns. In consequence, he has become famous in the tradition-bound French theatre for his daring interpretations of those classics which form the backbone of every French company: Molière, Racine, Shakespeare. Of these, his *mise en scène* for *Tartuffe* has attracted the most attention, and it is among the three works his company presented on its first visit to the United States as part of the current Lincoln Center Festival '68. (The others were Molière's *George Dandin* and Planchon's own adaptation of Dumas' *The Three Musketeers.*)

Planchon has conceived *Tartuffe* as a serious drama about the arrogantly gullible Orgon rather than as a comic one about the fakely pious Tartuffe. This is a radical shift in emphasis, although by no means one which distorts the text. It follows, of course, from Planchon's poli-

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tics, which he makes most visible in the tableau with which he ends the production. After the *deus ex machina* rights the wrongs which Tartuffe had prompted, Orgon's family gathers in a group to congratulate the young lovers whose marriage is now assured. Orgon stands apart. Planchon has the family turn to glare at Orgon, recapitulating their attitude of righteous indignation over his gullibility. Orgon feels the reproach in their look and gives an embarrassed, rather self-excusing shrug. Planchon freezes the action and blacks out the stage. Clearly he would like us to see that Orgon has not admitted his responsibility for error, even though he has recognized the error itself. Immediately we wonder whether Orgon will not get himself and his family into another pickle. After all, is the bourgeois papa capable of growing with experience, or isn't he locked in?

Planchon vivifies the sociological stance of his production by making the world of the play as everyday as possible. Gone is the elitism traditionally associated with a Molière presentation—the ice-cream colors and elegant forms of dress and decor, the grace and refinement of behavior. Planchon creates a reality much more recognizably our own. The settings and costumes have a matter of fact banality which verges on the drab and, for the most part, the actors behave with deliberate plainness. By blocking the traditional assumption that Molière's world is special, Planchon prevents us from subconsciously dismissing the relevance of the tale to the circumstances of our own experience.

The character of Tartuffe as conceived by Planchon is very important to this conception. He is really quite an ordinary fellow; at first it was hard to distinguish him from his manservant. Thus it is easier to see how Orgon has been blind to his vices but, at the same time, it is harder to credit the virtues which Orgon has praised in him. Nothing in Tartuffe's behavior justifies the homily to his character which Orgon delivers at the beginning of the play. Here is where Planchon's suggestion that Orgon has an illicit, unnamed affinity for Tartuffe—the hint of homophilia which is the main reason for the production's fame—becomes a handy device.

That Planchon's psychologizing and sociologizing of the most familiar classic of the French theatre did not take the New York audience by storm was probably a result of culture gap. Psychology, if not sociology, is still an arcane subject in France; it comes nowhere near informing the spontaneous habits of thought as it does in America. In the French theatre, furthermore, the psychological approach is still a novelty, as can be gleaned from the fact that Lee Strasberg, the head of the Actors Studio, held the first Method workshops in Paris last September. A couple of the participants, both of them thoroughly trained, knowledgeable professionals, spoke to me about their experience with "the real thing" as if, for them, the dawn was breaking at last. This in 1967! Meantime, young innovators in the American theatre were hard at work finding ways to dispel the cold gray night which they consider the psychologizing Method to be.

But even on its own terms and in its own context, Planchon's production of *Tartuffe* harbors a deadening incongruity. The language of the play is in rhymed alexandrines—rarefied, regular, elegant. Furthermore, the verse is organized into arias for single characters of substantial length. These demand to be rendered in the classical fashion, and the Planchon company, trained in the tradition, is equal to the task. If the poetry itself is acceptable as a convention in an otherwise "realistic" production, certain of its consequences for character behavior are less easy to credit. In classical *débit* the actor must shift his emotional tone radically from section to section of a long speech in order to keep it alive and moving. And other actors must occupy themselves somehow during their long waits while he covers the space of twenty-five to thirty lines. These terrifically artificial attributes of the production make for a basic inconsistency with the otherwise "realistic" terms, and are the more persistent for being a function of language—than which there is nothing more present in a play by Molière.

Planchon comes closer to a homogeneous production concept in *The Three Musketeers,* the second of the two plays which I saw at Lincoln Center. Here Planchon's modernity consists of kidding the pantaloons off the romantic style of life embodied by Dumas' drama of cavalier life under Louis XIII and Richelieu. The production is really a frivolity, if that word can be used for such an elaborate *mise en scène,* and its purpose is to entertain. People who detected an anti-aristocratic intention in it betrayed their senses to an easy conclusion drawn from knowledge of Planchon's "non-public"; the production goes far too far in gimmickry and laugh-getting to shelter the trace of a serious attitude toward anything. Some of the gimmicks work; some do not. (Planchon has a surprising lack of sense about repetition.) But the inventiveness of the business and the energetic abandon with which most of the players carry it out, particularly Claude Brasseur who is a spectacular D'Artagnan, give the production an *élan* which is hard to resist. The skill of the Planchon company is on display here: the dramatic effectiveness of the vignettes, the high language delivered on the run, the magnificent pomp rendered with economy of means—this is high-class entertainment.

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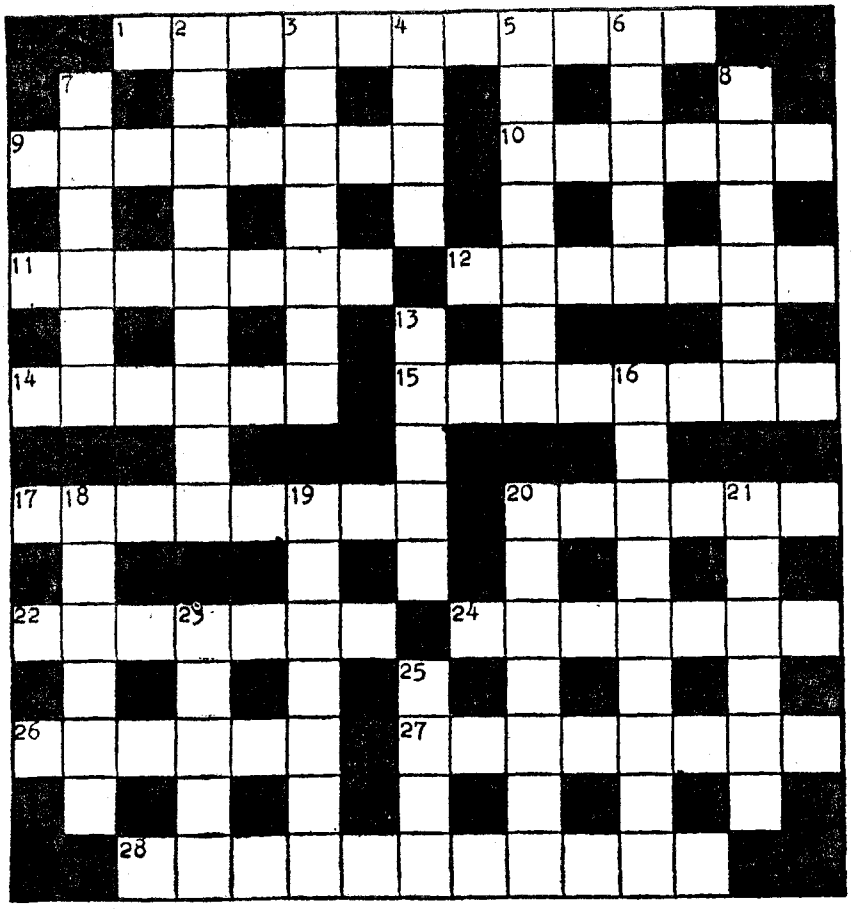
Crossword Puzzle No. 1257

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 See 22 across.
9 The employer is found in the kind brought back with a couple to suit, perhaps. (8)
10 Hamlet's man was noble in it. (6)
11 Everybody in favor might get blown up! (7)
12 See 4 down.
14 The wayward son is a hero and a poet. (6)
15 Such music is certainly not the program type set to a blues arrangement. (8)
17 Drawing sometimes given the controller type? (4-4)
20 America's a bad place to look for such fruit! (6)
22 and 1 across Relating to Palestine, if the first syllable were stretched you couldn't say it wouldn't get you to first base! (7,11)
24 In case of fever, you might find one on your lip paint does, occasionally. (7)
26 A holder for music? (6)
27 Not necessarily a wing-flap, since the engine might have one. (3, 5)
28 Specific thing sort of allowed to a lesser degree to make a very light substance. (11)

DOWN:

2 Not Clearwater, Florida—Wisconsin, rather. (3, 6)
3 Didn't tell the truth, to admit, but you might get the rest if you do. (3, 4)
4 20 down and 12 across A sight better with these? One might think so. (4-7, 7)
5 The one of these whose voice was heard in the theater was a flyer, rather than a marine type. (7)
6 Ring on a climbing pole, perhaps, in the stadia? (5)
7 Buys drinks and dresses, possibly. (6)
8 Proving the importance of time? (6)
13 It's rather convenient for a blues writer. (5)
16 True stalwarts? Not for such a back-breaking affair! (4, 5)
18 Dearer? Not comparatively, according to the editor. (6)
19 This sort of humor is seen in the eyes.
20 See 4 down.
21 Gamblers and office workers might look forward to them. (6)
23 Affluent, but with only one suit! (5)
25 The time of a prideful following? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1256

ACROSS: 6 Comb; 10 and 1 across Piece de resistance; 11 Alarmed; 12 Alkahest; 13 Linda; 15 Shyer; 17 Adjudging; 19 Displayed; 23 and 21 Nightshade; 24 Signaled; 27 Motives; 28 Economy; 29 Chat; 30 Plane trees. DOWN: 1 Rapt; 2 Shelley; 3 Sheba; 4 Abecedary; 5 Craft; 7 Osmanli; 8 Bedraggled; 9 Ballades; 14 Isodynamic; 16 Relative; 18 Jade-green; 20 Sagitta; 22 Acetone; 24 Sisal; 25 Aloft; 26 Ayes.

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